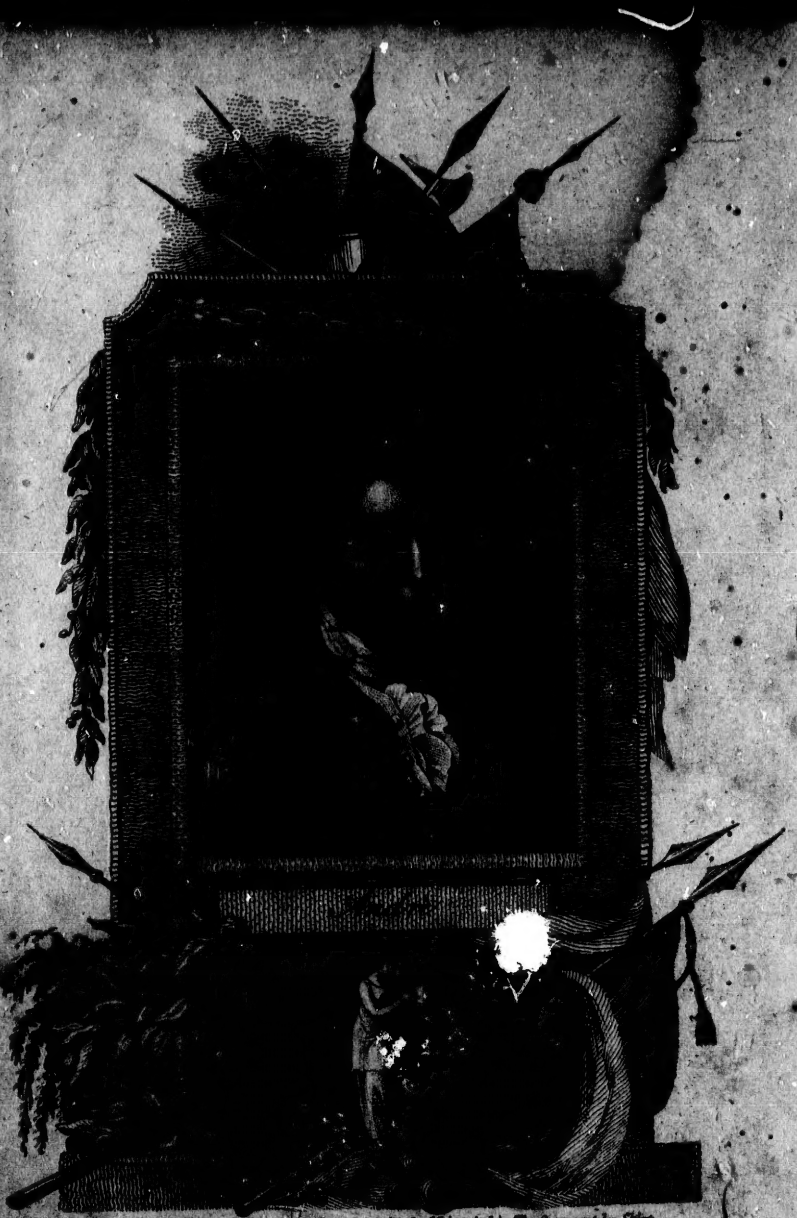


The Portraits engraved by Hopwood, from a drawing by Major André. The Ornament by Shirt.

Published by Mathews & Leigh 1808.

AN

AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE

OF THE CAUSES

WHICH LED TO THE DEATH OF

MAJOR ANDRÈ,

ADJUTANT-GENERAL

OF HIS

MAJESTY'S FORCES IN NORTH AMERICA.

BY

JOSHUA HETT SMITH, ESQ.

COUNSELLOR AT LAW, LATE MEMBER OF THE CONVENTION

OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

To which is added

A MONODY

ON THE DEATH OF MAJOR ANDRÈ.

BY MISS SEWARD.

London:

PRINTED FOR MATHEWS AND LEIGH, 18, STRAND.

1808.

Printed by W. Clowes, Northumberland Court, Strand.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE author of the following sheets feels it incumbent upon him to observe, that he has no ambition to appear as a man of letters; he has only a simple narrative to relate, which will promote the sacred cause of truth, and exempt him from the frequent interrogations of his European and Trans-Atlantic friends. The object of this work is to elucidate a transaction, the most important that occurred during the progress of the American war.

The fate of the author was so much blended with that of Major Andre, that he considers it necessary to connect them together; as it will tend the more effectually

to explain many circumstances which would otherwise appear very obscure.

In consequence of his agency in this interesting affair, his own life was placed in imminent danger; and the pens of the historian and the traveller have been unjustly and illiberally exercised on the subject. Although their ignorance and partiality are eminently conspicuous, the author conceives it a duty which he owes to his own character, to expose their fallacies; particularly, as there is no person who possesses the means of explaining this subject more fully than himself.

The business being of a political nature, on which much has been said, written, and conjectured, he is well aware that many of his readers will be more or less influenced by their former opinions; coinciding with, or dissenting from his statement, agreeably

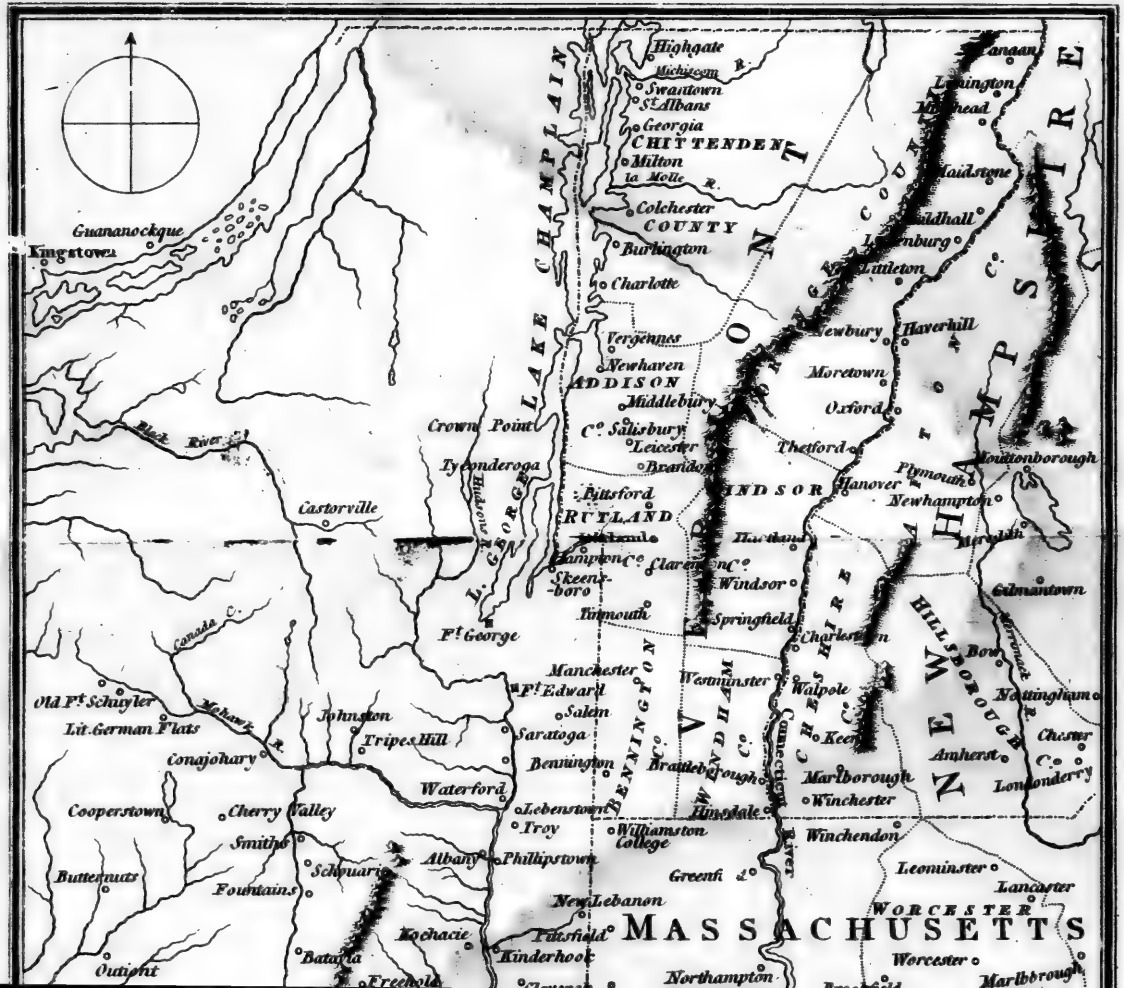
to their former prejudices. From these, however, he solicits a candid retrospect of their sentiments; while others, to whom the subject is novel, he hopes, will derive satisfaction from his reflections on many of the causes that produced the event in question—an event, which occasioned the death of an amiable and gallant officer in the most ignominious and tragical manner—an event, that has occasioned more misery to the author, than the pangs of death.

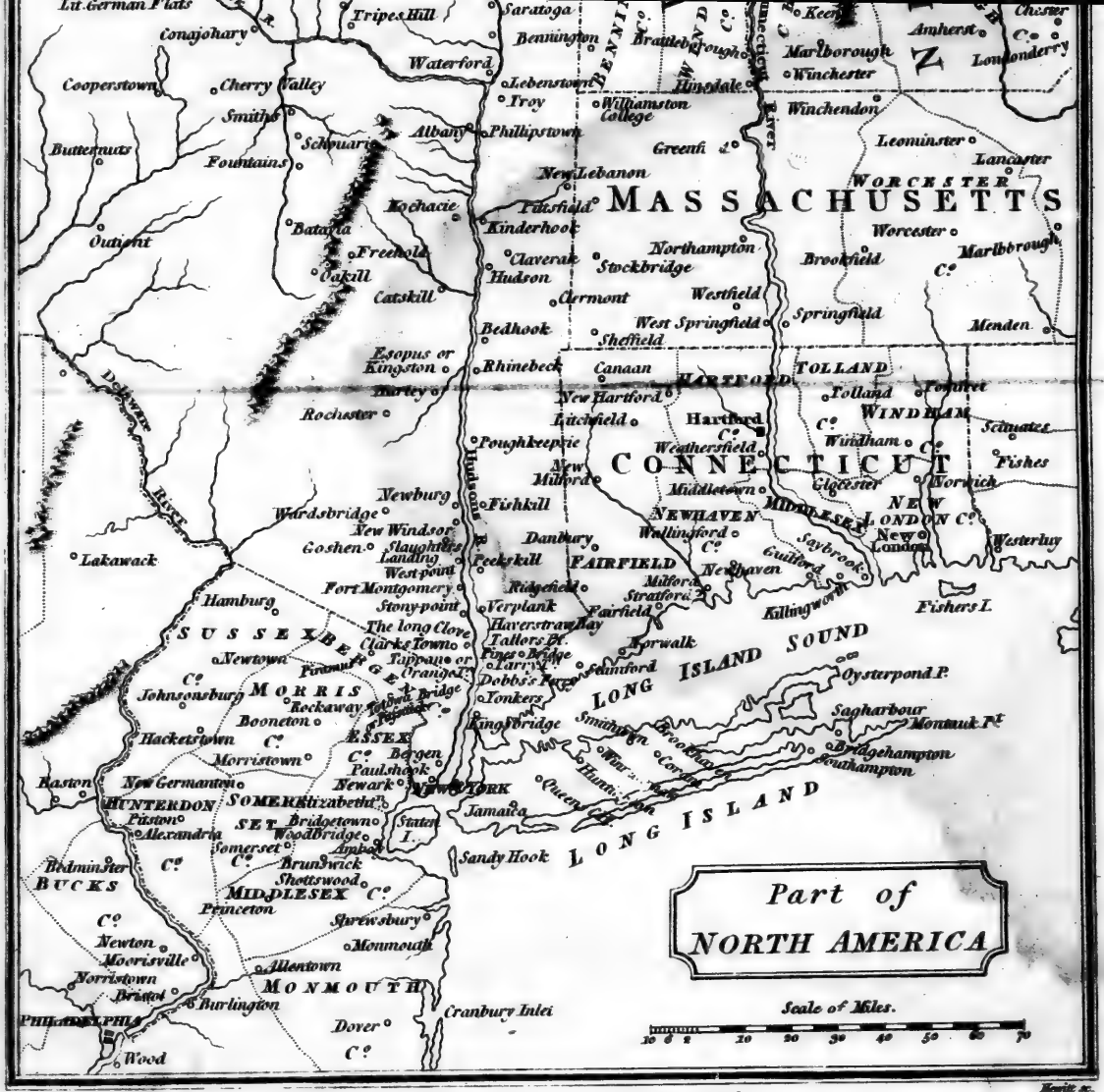
In the following pages the writer will make no other comments than those naturally arising from the facts that will be stated, and proved. Hence there will be no grounds for the exercise of malignant cavil, or partial criticism; and the inquirer after truth will be better able to draw his own inferences, and judge how far the narrative is worthy of credit.

The author feels it his duty to apologise for any unbecoming appearance of egotism; for, as he was a party in the tragical drama, personification, in detailing it, becomes unavoidable: yet he cannot but lament the painful task thus imposed on him, of vindicating his own reputation against the illiberal attack of the Marquis de Chastelleux, (a general in the French service, under the command of Count Rochambeau,) in his work stiled "*Travels through North America, in the Years* 1781, 1782, *and* 1783;" and also in another publication, recently and accidentally placed in the hands of the narrator, and from whence he has taken the extract with which the narrative commences.

After a perusal of this volume, the candid reader will judge how far the insidious writer of the extract, just men-

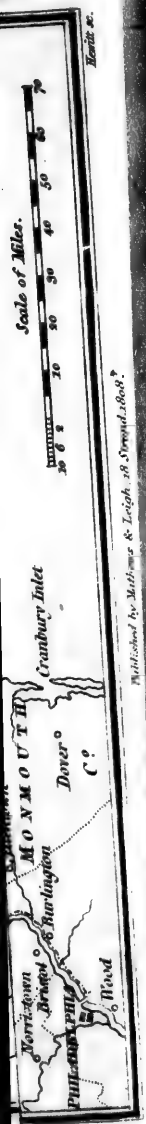
tioned, from the "*Political Magazine for February*, 1781," has been influenced by truth or liberality;—the author will only generally remark that, from beginning to end, it is a base fabrication; and that, in those days of heat, jealousy, and party, when men's minds were mutually inflamed —when the standard of Discord waved triumphant, and friend and relative armed in her cause, the licentiousness of the press was carried to an unwarrantable height, and no rank, or character, however elevated, was free from the venom of slander.


Highgate
Swantown
St. Albans
Georgia
CHITTENDEN
Milton
Colchester
COUNTY
Burlington
Charlotte
Vergennes
Newhaven
ADDISON
Middlebury
Crown Point
Co. Salisbury
Leicester
Brandon
Ticonderoga
Pittsford
RUTLAND
Castorville
Hampton
Skeensboro
Clarendon
Windsor
Tinmouth
Springfield
Fort George
Manchester
Fort Edward
Salem
Old Fort Schuyler
Lit. German Flats
Johnston
Tripes Hill
Saratoga
Conajoharry
Bennington
Brattleborough
Waterford
Cooperstown
Cherry Valley
Lebenstown
Troy
Williamston College
Smiths
Albany
Phillipstown
Schoharie
Butternuts
Fountains
New Lebanon
Lochacie
Pittsfield
Batavia
Kinderhook
Outright
Freehold
Northampton
Guananockque
Kingstown
Black River
Canada Cr.
Mohawk R.
Hudson R.
LAKE CHAMPLAIN
L. GEORGE
BENNINGTON Co.
WINDHAM Co.
WINDSOR Co.
CHESHIRE Co.
HILLSBOROUGH Co.
Connecticut R.
Merrimack R.
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Canaan
Lemington
Maidstone
Guildhall
Lunenburg
Littleton
Newbury
Haverhill
Moretown
Oxford
Thetford
Plymouth
Hanover
Newhampton
Haddonborough
Edmantown
Bow
Nottingham
Amherst
Chester
Londonderry
Keene
Marlborough
Winchester
Winchendon
Leominster
Lancaster
WORCESTER
MASSACHUSETTS
Worcester
Marlborough



Published by Mathews & Leigh, 18 Strand 1808.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN
CHITTENDEN COUNTY
ADDISON COUNTY
RUTLAND
WINDSOR
WINDHAM
Highgate
Jericho
Swanton
St Albans
Georgia
Milton
Colchester
Burlington
Charlotte
Vergennes
Newhaven
Middlebury
Salisbury
Leicester
Brandon
Castleton
Newbury
Haverhill
Moretown
Oxford
Thetford
Hanover
Plymouth
Newhampton
Rockingham
Guilford
Brattleborough
Guanaocksgue
Kingstown
Black River
Castleville
Dover
Cranbury Inlet
Crown Point
Tyconderoga
Hudsons
Scale of Miles.
Published by Matthews & Leigh, 18 Strand, 1808.



NARRATIVE

OF

THE CAUSES WHICH LED

TO THE

DEATH OF MAJOR ANDRE.

Extract from the Political Magazine for February, 1781.

"CIRCUMSTANCES RESPECTING THE BETRAYING OF MAJOR ANDRE.

"WHEN Major Andre went to consult with General Arnold, he was carried to the house of a Mr. Smith, brother to the Smith, lately appointed Chief Justice of New York, by General Robertson, and also brother to a Dr. Smith, who lately lived in Downing-street, Westminster, and who is said to have gone off the morning that the soldiers fired

on the rioters, and whose negro woman was hanged for being concerned in the burnings. While Major Andre was communicating with General Arnold, he lived at the house of Smith, and wore Smith's clothes, and when he set out from Washington's camp, Smith attended him till within about twelve miles of Knightsbridge, where Andre told him he knew his way perfectly well. Just after Smith left him, he was taken, and, at that very time, he had on Smith's clothes. Washington has tried Smith for being concerned in what they call Arnold's conspiracy; but the trial has turned out a mere farce; for Smith has not suffered any punishment. The people at New York therefore believe, that Smith betrayed Andre to the rebels, and are of opinion that he never can clear up his character any where but at the gallows."

THE gloom and melancholy in which my unhappy agency had involved me, as just described and misrepresented, rendered it necessary for me to travel; and to adopt all rational means to obliterate the remembrance of the miseries I had endured:—hence I carefully secluded myself from those associations that might have a tendency to renew my affliction of mind; and it is from this cause that I have so long been ignorant of the calumnies propagated by the artful, the interested, and the designing, to injure my character; while the public have hitherto been precluded from obtaining a representation of facts.

Before entering upon the narrative that forms the subject of the following pages, it will be necessary to observe, that in the time of the American War, a free communication between Canada and New York, by means of the Lake Champlain and Hudson's Ri-

ver, was of the utmost importance, in order to facilitate the operations of the British arms in the meditated plan of subjugating the Colonies; it was equally the interest of America, from every principle of sound policy, to counteract this measure. A chain of mountains extending along the banks of this river upwards of twenty miles, between Stony Point and Slaughter's Landing, near New Windsor, prevented a regular ferry from being established, to preserve the communication between the eastern and southern states, for the conveyance of supplies of provisions, and for the marching and counter-marching of the troops of the confederacy. It therefore became necessary that a fort should be erected for the above purpose, to check any naval force that might obstruct the passage of the boats employed at the ferries.

For this purpose Fort Montgomery was

erected in 1776, and a strong boom laid across the river, guarded by two frigates; the Hudson being navigable for ships of war of 60 guns much higher than this fort, and, at spring tides, for frigates near to Albany. In 1777 Fort Montgomery was attacked and carried by Sir Henry Clinton, who passed it in his attempt to favour the descent of General Burgoyne from Canada, in the autumn of that year, and in all probability a junction of these armies would have been effected, had the expedition been earlier adopted, as meditated by Sir Henry Clinton. The interception of a courier happened at that time in a manner so singular as to be worthy of attention; and to describe which I shall make a short digression.

The courier dispatched by General Burgoyne to General Sir Henry Clinton, was charged to deliver to him a silver bullet, and to give it into the General's own hands. In

case of surprise, if challenged from whence he came, or suspected of being an enemy, he was ordered to swallow the bullet, which would prevent the message from being detected. Having reached as far as Fort Montgomery, near New York,* he made enquiry for General Clinton; and finding, on being brought before him, that he was not the person described to him as the General to whom he was sent, but that he was GOVERNOR-GENERAL GEORGE CLINTON OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK; he turned aside and swallowed the silver ball. Being observed by some of the attendants, he was immediately taken into custody; when being interrogated as to what business he had with General Clinton, and discovering some embarrassment in his answers, it was proposed to administer an emetic, to ascertain what he had swallowed with such precipitation. The

* When this transaction occurred, the narrator resided in the vicinity.

idea was adopted, and the consequence was, that he threw up the silver ball; which being unscrewed, was found to contain a letter from General Burgoyne to General Sir Henry Clinton, the purport of which was to explain his forlorn situation, after the attack of General Arnold at the heights of Bremen. The courier was immediately hung as a spy.

Upon the reduction of Fort Montgomery, the royal force proceeded up the Hudson, to the vicinity of Albany, carrying fire and devastation before them. On both sides of the river the shores were undefended by mountains, opening to an extensive champaign-country, well inhabited by substantial farmers, of whom two thirds were unfriendly to the dismemberment of the empire by the measure of independence of Great Britain.

The town of Kingston, beautifully situated near the west bank of the Hudson river,

was laid in ashes by General Vaughan; it had been the seat of government. The convention of the State of New York had here formed their new constitution, and it was likewise here that Rose and Middagh, two leaders of the loyalists in that part of the county of Ulster, were executed, without a regular form of trial, for their adherence to the royal cause; this circumstance, with others of a similar nature, had rendered the place extremely obnoxious to the loyal followers of the British arms, and possibly might have occasioned its conflagration. A large body of loyalists were forming at this time on the eastern shore of the river to join the royal army, but the advanced state of the season prevented the continuance of the British force in the river, and they were compelled to disperse on the advance of the American troops, on the surrender of General Burgoyne in 1777.

The name given to this place by the first Dutch settlers was Esopus: it is now called Kingston, and is celebrated in Chief Justice Smith's History of the province of New York, for affording the best flour and draft horses on the Continent of America, as well as a particular beer, in great request for its nutritious qualities.

If the importance of obstructing the navigation of the Hudson existed merely in idea, previous to this event, the erecting of an insurmountable barrier against the British navy became now indispensably necessary. Commissioners were therefore appointed to examine the passes of the high lands, and a point of land projecting in the river on the west side, not far distant from Fort Montgomery, called West Point, was selected, from the natural advantages presented, for this purpose; not only from the strength of the

circumjacent ground, but from the narrowness of the Hudson, which here takes a short winding circuit east and west, uniformly different from its usual course of north and south. This defile was fortified by a strong boom thrown across the river, and a range of fortifications ascending to the highest mount, a natural platform, on which was erected the strongest work, called Fort Putnam; this was bomb-proof and unassailable, from its strength and elevated situation, being built on and composed of rocks, of which the place abounded. As this post was not to be flanked, it was of course deemed impregnable; in the confidence arising from which, it was abundantly stored with every military means of defence that the country was capable of affording at that stage of the war, and made the grand arsenal of the main army. The communication above the garrison being thus secured, it was capable of being sup-

plied by water carriage with all weighty articles, essentially requisite as well for defence as to render it a general magazine.

This important pass was commanded in the earlier part of the campaign of 1779 by Major-General Howe, one of the oldest officers in rank in the American service; he was a particular favourite of General Washington. General Howe had been previously in the British service; was well versed in tactics, a rigid disciplinarian, and was acknowledged to be an engineer of the highest reputation. He had had the command of Fort Johnson at Cape Fear, in North Carolina. Possessing these qualifications, and his zeal in the service being evident, he was high in the confidence of General Washington. General Howe, upon assuming the command, contributed by military art to that invincible defence formed by nature to render West Point impregnable. Eighteen

miles below West Point were erected the two forts of Verplank and Stony Point, (the first on the east, the last on the west side of the Hudson river); at the entrance of this range of mountain, a ferry had long before been in use, called King's Ferry, and which was protected now by these forts, which were esteemed the dependencies of West Point, and considered as *the key of the American Continent.*

General Howe being desirous of a more active command in the line of the main army, immediately under the direction of General Washington, the latter conferred the important trust of West Point to General Arnold, who, being lame from the wounds received in the several actions in which he had gallantly shared, from the walls of Quebec to the plains of Saratoga, was thought from those circumstances, and his approved bravery, most worthy of succeeding General Howe.

The prowess and gallantry of General Arnold, evidenced in his rapid rise from the rank of a captain to a major-general, in the short space of three years, while it proved his merit, justified Washington's appointment, for which he received the sanction of Congress, and the applause of the people.

The invincible spirit which he and his hardy followers encountered in their march through an inhospitable desert is inconceivable. They proceeded from the camp at Cambridge to Quebec, subjected to cold, hunger, and fatigue, (far surpassing in difficulty and distress the march of Hannibal across the Alps,) reduced almost to starvation, and, however incredible it may seem, compelled occasionally to eat the leather of their shoes and boots!

During this distress, every man in his army recollected the general's patient and

indefatigable zeal at the siege of Quebec, where he received a wound; his prudent and well-conducted retreat through Canada, and gallant defence of the American fleet on Lake Champlain; the whole of his career in the reduction of the army under General Burgoyne, whose defeat was principally ascribed to Arnold's singular bravery, and his attack of the royal troops in Connecticut under General Tryon, against a far superior force; all these circumstances had raised his reputation to the highest eclat among his fellow-citizens, and insured him the most perfect confidence in the army and in Congress.

Although his conduct at first drew upon him the resentment of the executive council of Pennsylvania, when in the command of Philadelphia, and for awhile eclipsed his rising glory, yet a judicious court-martial, after the most strict and impartial inves-

tigation, acquitted him of every charge that could in the least impeach his integrity; and General Washington, in confirmation of their decision, conferred on him the command of West Point as a mark of special favour and distinguished approbation, and earnestly pressed his assuming the command against New York, on the junction of the allied army under Count Rochambeau.

At this period he visited my house with his family, on his way to his appointment. I opened my doors with hospitality for his reception, as I had done generally to the officers of the army, and other genteel travellers, being always ready to shew such attentions, from the amplitude of the means I then possessed. I spread my table with cheerfulness for his entertainment, and conceived his acquaintance as an honourable acquisition. Little did I then conceive I was dispensing hospitality to a man whose defection from the

cause he had so gallantly maintained afterwards astonished the whole world.

My house was situated on the nearest route, where all communications generally passed from the eastern and southern states across the ferry at Stony Point, about 18 miles below West Point. General Arnold's residence, while commanding the garrison, was at the house and farm of Colonel Beverly Robinson, who had relinquished them, and joined the royal army at New York. This residence was situated opposite to West Point, on the eastern side of the Hudson, a dreary situation, environed with mountains, and no way calculated for the residence of a lady of Mrs. Arnold's taste, she being well qualified, from a most amiable disposition, and every engaging attraction, to be at once the example and ornament of the politest circles. Being at that time but recently returned from Charleston, South Carolina,

with my family, Mrs. Smith was equally destitute of the society which each had been accustomed to in their respective cities. The intercourse by land or water from West Point to Stony Point in the summer season was easily attained; they were therefore engaged in frequent visits to each other, and General Arnold was as frequently with me, in search of those culinary supplies, unattainable in his mountainous recesses. I felt myself happy in rendering him every aid in my power, and cultivated his acquaintance from motives of security; for in my absence from the State of New York, my family in general were suspected of disaffection to the American cause; my eldest brother, the late Chief Justice of Canada, having been banished within the British lines at New York for his unequivocal attachment to the English government; another brother, who was generally deemed an enemy to the revolution, and myself, were also more than suspected

of being in the British interest, from the circumstance of my being appointed, with two other gentlemen of the county of Orange, a Doctor Butwater and Colonel Sherrard, (by a very large majority of the electors of that county) to oppose in the convention of delegates of the different counties of the province in 1776, the measure of Independence then recommended and adopted by Congress. Indeed, such was the jealousy of the times, that to be descended immediately from English parentage, or to possess any lukewarmness in the rash and intemperate measures that the demagogues of the mob chose to dictate, was sufficient to render the tenure of life, liberty, and propery, most precarious.

From the elevated situation I possessed, commanding an extensive view of the capacious Bay of Haverstraw, at this part of the river five miles wide, I frequently observed

flags of truce passing and repassing*; and I took the liberty of requesting to know from General Arnold if there was any impropriety in the simple interrogation, whether the flags were for an exchange of prisoners by cartel? He answered generally, that in a short time the business of the flags would be explained. Soon afterwards, it was mentioned at dinner by General Arnold, that the flags had brought letters from Colonel Beverly Robinson, who, General Arnold said, was very anxious to make terms for the recovery of his estates, that had been confiscated to the public use; and that Colonel Robinson was authorized to propose, through his medium, some preliminary grounds for an accommodation between Great Britain and America. Colonel Lamb of the Artillery, at West Point, an old and sagacious officer, who, with a number of other officers from the garrison, was present at dinner, immedi-

* This was early in September, 1780.

ately said, that any proposition of that kind ought with more propriety to be made to Congress, than to a General, only commanding a district; General Arnold replied, that the communication must at first be made through some channel, and here the conversation ended.

Some time afterwards General Arnold, in another visit, seemed more communicative; he expressed his detestation of the *French alliance*, from the perfidiousness of their national character; ridiculed the solecism and inconsistency of an absolute monarch being the ally of a people contending for freedom, who kept his own subjects in the most despotic and absolute slavery; thought it was an unnatural union, of no duration, and that it was not made by France until she saw the Americans were able to defend themselves, which would be more to their own national honour and glory. General Arnold then

mentioned that he had received another flag of truce, and that Colonel Beverly Robinson had anxiously solicited an interview, to be more explanatory of the propositions that were to produce, if acceded to by Congress, a general peace, and happily terminate the expence of blood and treasure, that were ruinous to both countries, in the prosecution of a war without an object. He said he conceived that the overtures made on the part of Great Britain by her commissioners, the Earl of Carlisle, Governor Johnson, and Mr. Eden, (now Lord Auckland) were founded in ALL SINCERITY and GOOD FAITH, that they fully met the *ultimatum* that the generality of the Americans desired, but by what he could learn from Colonel Robinson, the present terms held out went much farther than the propositions of 1778, and he made no doubt that they would be the basis of an honourable peace; this event, he said, he most cordially wished, being

heartily tired of the war; and he then complained of being ill used by Congress and the executive council of Pennsilvania, which *had treated him with injustice*, in not *sufficiently* ESTIMATING HIS SERVICES*.

I requested to know from General Arnold if he had informed General Washington of Colonel Robinson's applications, and what was the General's opinion of the business? He answered, that he had written to him for directions how to act, but that he was then gone to Connecticut or Rhode Island, on a visit to COUNT ROCHAMBEAU, the commander in chief of the French troops, lately ar-

* At the time of this interview, General Arnold was at my house; and, in the familiarity of conversation, he expressed himself as follows;—"Smith, here am I now, after having fought the battles of my country, and find myself with a ruined constitution, and this limb (holding up his wounded leg) now rendered useless to me. At the termination of this war, where can I seek for compensation for such damages as I have sustained?

rived from France. Soon after this conversation, I accompanied my family on a visit to Fish Kill, a settlement about 18 miles higher up the river from Robinson's house, where I left them; and stopping at General Arnold's quarters on my return, agreeably to his particular request, he solicited me to conduct a flag of truce to the VULTURE sloop of war, then lying in Haverstraw Bay, for the purpose of bringing Colonel Beverly Robinson to the intended interview. I was so deeply interested in the object of this meeting, as represented to me by General Arnold, and the success of it was so congenial to my wishes, that I made no hesitation to assure him of my cheerful concurrence; and in a day or two afterwards, *General Arnold came to my house at Haverstraw with the necessary passports for my mission to the Vulture.*

Having *himself* made the necessary arrangements, such as providing a boat from

the quarter-master, Major Keirs, at Stony Point, with every publicity, I was surprised that he should request me to go in the night. He begged of me to procure for him hands from among my tenants *that had been used to the water*. I stated to him the impropriety of conducting a flag in a manner which I deemed unprecedented; but he overruled my objection by assurances that it was properly *understood on board the* VULTURE, and that the business was of a nature not to be generally known for the present among the citizens. Having made the promise, I could not recede, and with much reluctance I consented to go; but he had great difficulty to persuade my tenants to accompany me, as they were intimidated by the danger of the undertaking by night, nor would they have consented, although *promised* handsome pay, and menaced with confinement for their non-compliance, if I had not appeared willing to countenance the measure, assuring

them it was, in my opinion, for the good of the country, which, upon the representations of General Arnold, were my real sentiments.

Accordingly, after General Arnold had given the order for muffling the oars, that we might not be impeded by the boats that guarded the shores, a precaution necessary, as there was a regular water patrole, to prevent those disaffected to the American interest, or Tories, as the friends to the royal cause were called, from carrying provisions or intelligence to the British ships occasionally lying in the river. This precaution, however, staggered the confidence of the eldest of the watermen, who bluntly told General Arnold that if the business was of a fair and upright nature, as he assured them it was, he saw no necessity for any disguise, or to seize the veil of night to execute that which might be as well transacted in broad day-light. The watermen were simple, ho-

nest men, had been accustomed to their occupation, and were my tenants, in whom I could place the utmost confidence; and it afterwards appeared I was not deceived. General Arnold insisted on their pursuing the business, and assured them he had the *command of the militia of the country for* 60 *miles round West Point by order of Congress, and that he would give a countersign to the guard boats, that we might pass unmolested.* The countersign given was CONGRESS; thus arranged, no farther hesitation was made to gain the VULTURE, then lying at the extremity of Haverstraw Bay. The night was serene, the tide favourable, and the the silent manner in which we passed the fort at Stony Point, at the mouth of Haverstraw Creek, precluded any obstructions; in short, although the distance was nearly 12 miles, we soon reached the ship. On our approach we were hailed by the centinel on deck, ordered to bring to, and questioned whither

bound? I answered, with a flag of truce to the *Vulture sloop of war*, upon which I was heartily assailed with a volley of oaths, all in the peculiarity of sea language, by the Officer commanding the watch on the quarter deck, and commanded instantly to haul alongside, or he would blow us out of the water. Upon coming alongside, I was saluted with another discharge of the same nautical eloquence; and orders were given to hoist the rebel rascal on board, which was prevented by my climbing up a rope fastened to the main chains, and so reaching the main deck. I was questioned as to my business, and how I could presume to come on board his Majesty's ship under colour of a flag of truce at night? To which I answered, I was so authorized by my papers, which I requested he would give to Captain Sutherland, the commander of the ship, and Colonel Robinson, as I knew they were on board; this request, however, seemed to have no effect;

but he poured on me torrents of abuse, threatening to hang me at the yard-arm, as, he said, another rebel had been a few days before; being nevertheless unintimidated, and seeing Colonel Robinson and the Captain, for whom I had letters, I raised my voice and said, he must be answerable for my being delayed: whether I was heard in the cabin or not I cannot say, but soon afterwards a boy came on deck and said, "*the captain orders the man below*;" he conducted me into the cabin, where on my entrance I saw a venerable looking gentleman, whom I recognised to be Colonel Beverly Robinson, dressed in a regimental uniform. He received me politely, desired me to be seated, and shortly introduced me to Captain Sutherland, who lay ill in his birth. Colonel Beverly Robinson having perused the letter from General Arnold, apologized for retiring a few minutes, ordering some refreshment, and left me to converse with

Captain Sutherland, to whom I related my uncourtly reception on deck; and his amiable urbanity compensated me for the incivility of his officer on deck. Having conversed with Captain Sutherland for twenty minutes on indifferent subjects, Colonel Robinson returned, and introduced Mr. Anderson to me, saying he was mentioned in General Arnold's letter, for whom he had sent a pass to come on shore, in case he Colonel Robinson should be unable to accompany me. Colonel Robinson pleaded indisposition, and said Mr. Anderson could as effectually answer all the purposes by going on shore as himself; there seemed no reluctance on the part of Anderson to supply Colonel Robinson s place, and he appeared in a dress equipped for the purpose, wearing boots and a large blue great-coat. For my own part it made no difference to me who bore me company, so that the object of my mission was fully answered, and the

great national ends obtained, which Arnold assured me would be the result of the affair.

Mr. Anderson being ready, we left the ship, and were rowed in a short time to the western shore, to the place which General Arnold had appointed for the interview; this was at the foot of a mountain called the Long Clove, near the low water mark, whither my servant had conducted General Arnold, on horseback, he being still lame from his wounds.

Very little conversation passed between Mr. Anderson and myself, excepting trivial remarks about the tide, the weather, and matters of no concern. Mr. Anderson, from his youthful appearance and the softness of his manners, did not seem to me to be qualified for a business of such moment; his nature seemed fraught with the milk of human kindness.

On my approach to the place of appointment, I found General Arnold ready to receive me; he was *hid among firs.* I mentioned to him Colonel Beverly Robinson's reason for not accompanying me, and the delegation of a young gentleman, a Mr. Anderson, whom I had brought with me, and who was then with the watermen on the strand. He appeared much agitated, and expressed chagrin at the disappointment of not seeing Colonel Robinson. He desired me, however, to conduct Mr. Anderson to him, which being done, he requested me to remain with the hands at the boat. I went as directed, but felt greatly mortified at not being present at the interview, to which I conceived myself entitled from my rank in life, and the trouble I had taken to effect the meeting. At length they continued such a time in conference, that I deemed it expedient to inform them of the approaching dawn of day. Shortly afterwards both came

down to the boat, and General Arnold, with much earnestness, solicited me to return with Mr. Anderson to the Vulture; but I pointed out the impracticability of effecting his wish, from the great distance, and the fatigue of the hands. He then applied to the men, who declared themselves unable to gratify his wish, through want of strength to accomplish it, and the ebb tide being against them. Convinced of the apparent impracticability of the attempt to reach the ship, and return before day without being discovered from either shore by the inhabitants, whose eyes were constantly watching the movements on the river, not only from the forts, but the surrounding shores, he relinquished his solicitations, and desired I would endeavour to return the boat to the place from whence we first embarked: this, with much labour, and taking the circuit of the eddies, was nearly effected, (as we left the boat at Crane's Island) when our attention was

called to the cannonade from Gallows Point against the Vulture, which was compelled to fall down the river, and appeared to be set on fire; Colonel Livingston, however, must have been totally unacquainted with General Arnold's designs, or he never would have fired at that time upon the ship.

I will here again request the candid and liberal reader to judge whether any man in his senses would or would not have refused to carry Mr. Anderson back to the Vulture, if he knew the extent of General Arnold's plot, and the danger to which he was exposed in case of a discovery. If the purport of the interview had been fully accomplished, why could not General Arnold have given me a flag, to carry this gentleman on board the Vulture? The fact is, he had not recovered the trepidation into which he was thrown on Mr. Anderson's first landing, from what cause let the reader form his own

opinion. Julius Cæsar did not discover more intrepidity than General Arnold, who, in the many actions in which he was engaged, never retired without some scar or wound, as honourable testimonies of bravery.

On my return home, I found that General Arnold and Mr. Anderson had arrived long before, Mr. Anderson having mounted the horse my servant had rode, when he followed General Arnold to the Long Clove, the place of Anderson's landing. He appeared vexed that the ship had been compelled to leave her position; and, after taking breakfast, and my ague coming on, it being the day of its return, I was obliged to retire, as well on that account as to recover from the fatigues of the night; so that General Arnold and Mr. Anderson were left alone the far greater part of the day. The conversation at breakfast was principally about the arrival

of the fleet at New York, under the command of Admiral Arbuthnot, the general health and spirit of the British army, and other desultory topics of no consequence. Towards the evening Arnold came to my house, and proposed that I should convey Mr. Anderson back to the Vulture, which had nearly regained her former situation; he saw, however, from the state of sickness under which I then laboured, with a fit of the ague upon me, that I was unable to gratify him; on which he proposed my accompanying him part of his way on his return to New York, by land, as soon as my health would permit, on the removal of the ague fit; to which I made no objection, as, when better, it would be in my way to visit and bring my family home from Fish Kill, being obliged to cross the river for that purpose. He soon after returned, and told me a difficulty had occurred, of which he was not before apprised; for that Anderson had come

on shore in a military dress, which he had borrowed, from pride or vanity, from an Officer of his acquaintance at New York; that as it would be impossible for him to travel in that uniform, he requested the loan of one of my coats. Being nearly of my size, I lent him a coat: the other part of his dress, he said, did not require change. General Arnold then proposed returning to his command at West Point, leaving Mr. Anderson very disconsolate with me. I endeavoured to amuse him by shewing him the prospect from the upper part of my house, from whence there was an extensive view over the capacious bay of Haverstraw, to the opposite shore; he cast an anxious look towards the Vulture, and with a heavy sigh wished he was on board. I endeavoured to console him by the hope of his being at the White Plains, or New York, before her. Finding myself better, I promised to accompany him on his way. I could not help

remarking to him, that I thought the General might have ordered a flag of truce from Stony Point, to have returned him to the Vulture, without the fatigue of his going to the White Plains, that appearing to me a circuitous route, unless he had business to transact at that place of a public nature. From this time he seemed shy, and desirous to avoid much conversation; he continued to urge preparations for his departure, and carefully avoided being seen by persons that came to the house.

Previous to his quitting it, General Arnold had prepared a passport for him to go to the White Plains, and a flag of truce for me to go thither and return. Finding myself better, and refreshed with the rest I had taken, I ordered my servant to get the horses in readiness, and we reached the ferry at Stony Point before it was dark, intending, if the weather should be fine, to proceed as

far as Major De la Van's that night, at a place called Crum Pond, the distance of about eight or ten miles from the ferry, where I knew we should be well entertained, and take the dawn of the morning to proceed with more satisfaction. Between my house and the fort at Stony Point, our conversation was principally about the taking and re-taking of that place; I found my fellow-traveller very backward in giving any opinion, or saying much about it. We were met on the road by several officers belonging to this post, with whom we conversed very freely, and stopped at the sutler's at the ferry to drink with them. When we arrived on the opposite side, we rode up to the tent of Colonel Livingston, the commanding Officer at Verplanks Point; I being well acquainted with him, he having served his clerkship and studied the law with my brother, the late Chief Justice of Canada, and being also a relation of Mrs. Smith; he pressed

us to stay to supper with him, but this Mr. Anderson seemed desirous to decline. As we proceeded, I thought he grew more cheerful, and as our road became better, we rode on with an increased speed, and had reached about five or six miles when we were challenged by a patrole party. On advancing, the commanding officer, a Captain Bull, demanded a countersign before we should pass, and drew his corps about us; he enquired who we were, the reason of our travelling in the night, and from whence we came? I told him who I was, and that we had passports from General Arnold, the commanding officer at West Point, which we had received from the general that day; that we were on the public service, on business of the highest import, and that he would be answerable for our detention one moment; he insisted on seeing the passports, and conducted us to a house in the vicinity where there was a light: on approaching the

house Mr. Anderson seemed very uneasy; but I cheered him by saying our papers would carry us to any part of the country to which they were directed, and that no person dare presume to detain us. When we came to the light I presented the passports, which satisfied the captain; but he seemed better pleased when I told him I intended to quarter that night at Major De la Van's who, he said, was a staunch friend to the cause of his country, would treat us well, and render every aid in his power that tended to promote the welfare of America; he soon began to be more pleased, and in the most impressive manner intreated us not to proceed one inch farther in the night, as it was very dangerous, for the Cow Boys had been out the preceding night, and had done much mischief, by carrying off cattle, and some of the inhabitants as prisoners. Alarmed at this intelligence, I was hesitating what to do, when my companion expressed his wish to pro-

ceed; but the captain suggested many prudential reasons why he would not advise our progress at night. He particularly remarked that we had little chance of defending ourselves against both parties then out, as he had heard them firing some little time before he met us. All this determined me to take the captain's advice, which seemed to direct the surest step for our safety. I accordingly returned a short distance, to look for night-quarters, and my companion reluctantly followed.

Cow Boys was a name given to those who were in the British interest; while the name of *Skinners* was the appellation of their opponents; the latter were a banditti, who indiscriminately plundered friend or foe; and all those who were peaceable people and had property, were subjected to their contributions: a good horse, a fat ox, a cow, or a pig, were the particular incentives for

plunder, outrage, inhuman barbarity, and even murder. This was the unhappy state of a district more than fifty-five miles in extent, in one of the oldest and best settled counties in the government, where, literally, brother was against brother, and father against son, frequently imbruing their hands in each other's blood. All friendly intercourse was at an end, for each was jealous of the other, and no one slept safely in his bed. Many families hid themselvels at night in barns, wheat-ricks, corn-cribs, and stacks of hay; and, on each returning day, blessed their good fortune that their houses had escaped the flames. Knowing these facts, from living so near the spot, and frequently seeing the unfortunate sufferers that fled from it, I was very thankful for Captain Bull's advice not to risk the ride by night, and cheerfully consented to adopt it.

With no small difficulty we therefore re-

turned several miles, and gained admittance into a house for the night; while such was the caution and danger of admitting nocturnal inmates, that we were obliged to take to bed or keep the family up, who would not retire until they saw us safely lodged. We slept in the same bed; and I was often disturbed with the restless motions, and uneasiness of mind exhibited by my bed-fellow, who on observing the first approach of day, summoned my servant to prepare the horses for our departure. He appeared in the morning as if he had not slept an hour during the night; he at first was much dejected, but a pleasing change took place in his countenance when summoned to mount his horse. The landlord, who was a very kind and civil man, (I think his name was M'Koy) refused to take any compensation for the trouble which we had given him. He, too, had been plundered of nearly all his horses and cattle. He therefore most devoutly

supplicated vengeance against the authors of the war, and wished himself back to the Highlands of Scotland. I stopped at his house on my return. M'Koy's bluntness pleased my companion; he professed himself a loyal adherent to the crown. It was singular that the Scotch in the southern states were attached to the royal interest, but to the northward their principles were diametrically the reverse, some few instances excepted: but to whatever party they adhered, they discovered the national character of invincible integrity to their trust.

We rode very cheerfully towards Pine's bridge without interruption, or any event that excited apprehension; here I proposed to leave my companion; but I observed that the nearer we approached the bridge, the more his countenance brightened into a cheerful serenity, and he became very affable; in short, I now found him highly enter-

taining; he was not only well informed in general history, but well acquainted with that of America, particularly New York, which he termed the residuary legatee of the British government, (for it took all the remaining lands not granted to the proprietary and chartered provinces.) He had consulted the Muses as well as Mars, for he conversed freely on the belles lettres: music, painting, and poetry, seemed to be his delight. He displayed a judicious taste in the choice of the authors he had read, possessed great elegance of sentiment, and a most pleasing manner of conveying his ideas, by adopting the flowery colouring of poetical imagery. He lamented the causes which gave birth to and continued the war, and said if there was a correspondent temper on the part of the Americans, with the prevailing spirit of the British ministry, peace was an event not far distant; he intimated that measures were then in agitation for the accomplishment of

that desirable object, before France could establish her perfidious designs. He sincerely wished the fate of the war could alone be determined in the fair, open, field-contest, between as many British in number as those under the command of Count Rochambeau at Rhode Island, whose effective force he seemed clearly to understand; he descanted on the richness of the scenery around us, and particularly admired, from every eminence, the grandeur of the Highland mountains, bathing their lofty summits in the clouds from their seeming watery base at the north extremity of Haverstraw Bay. The pleasantry of converse, and mildness of the weather, so insensibly beguiled the time, that we at length found ourselves at the bridge before I thought we had got half the way; and I now had reason to think my fellow-traveller a different person from the character I had at first formed of him.

This bridge crosses Croton river, a branch of the Hudson; here we halted, and at a low house on the right endeavoured to obtain some breakfast, from an old matronly Dutch woman, and provender for the horses; in this expectation, however, we were disappointed; the Cow Boys or Skinners had been there the night before, and taken all the supplies of her cupboard, except some Indian meal, which she had mixed up with water, and boiled i.. a consistency, by the Dutch called *suppon*. This, with the addition of some milk, from a single cow they had mercifully left her, was the only fare we could procure, and it being remarkably clean, (for which the Dutch of the country are deservedly celebrated) we made a good meal; our appetites being keen from having been supperless the preceding night:---While at breakfast I mentioned my determination to proceed no farther. Having discharged the bill to the woman, in the local money of

the county, my companion requested me to lend him some, and I cheerfully supplied him with the half of my pocket amount, although I was afraid it was not current below that place; the bridge being accounted the south boundary of the American lines. He was affected at parting, and offered me a valuable gold watch in remembrance of him, as a keep-sake, which I refused. The horse was furnished by General Arnold; the saddle and bridle were borrowed of me, with the promise that they should be returned, or the value of them paid to me.

Having given him directions about the road he was to take upon crossing the bridge, with a message to my brother, the chief justice, whom he knew, we parted. I proceeded on my way to Fish Kill, taking General Arnold's quarters at Robinson's house in my route: I mentioned to General Arnold the distance I accompanied Mr. Ander-

son, which gave him apparently much satisfaction. His dinner being ready I partook of it, refreshed my horses, and in the evening proceeded to Fish Kill to my family. Here I found General Washington had arrived in the course of the afternoon, on his return from visiting Count Rochambeau, and I supped in his company, with a large retinue, at General Scott's. The next day I went on business to Ploughkeepsie, and returned to Fish Kill the ensuing evening. It was on the 25th of September, about midnight, that the door of the room wherein I lay in bed with Mrs. Smith, was forced open with great violence, and instantly the chamber was filled with soldiers, who approached the bed with fixed bayonets. I was then, without ceremony, drawn out of bed by a French officer, named Govion, whom I recollected to have entertained at my house not long before, in the suite of the Marquis de la Fayette. He

commanded me instantly to dress myself, and to accompany him to General Washington, having an order from the general, he said, to arrest me. The house was the residence of Colonel Hay, who had married my sister. The family was thrown into great confusion; the female part especially were in the deepest distress; indeed, the shock so much affected Mrs. Smith, that she never fully recovered from it; and, which added to my subsequent sufferings, was the cause of her death. I perceived that any opposition would be ineffectual; Colonel Hay desired to know for what cause the arrest was made? to which Govion would give no satisfactory answer. I then desired the privilege of having my servant and one of my horses to go with him to General Washington, at Robinson's house, which he refused; and I was immediately marched off, on foot, the distance of eighteen miles. At length on my arrival at Robinson's house,

I was paraded before the front door, under a guard. General Washington soon afterwards came into a piazza, and looked sternly and with much indignation at me; my countenance was the index of my mind, and the beautiful lines of Horace occurred to me, "*Si fractus et illabiter orbis impavidum feriuntque ruinæ*," &c. On his retiring, I was ordered into a back room, and two centinels placed at the door.

After as much time had elapsed as I supposed was thought necessary to give me rest from my march, I was conducted into a room, where were standing General Washington in the centre, and on each side General Knox and the Marquis de la Fayette, with Washington's two aids-de-camp, Colonels Harrison and Hamilton.

Provoked at the usage I received, I

addressed General Washington, and demanded to know for what cause I was brought before him in so ignominious a manner? —The general answered sternly, that I stood before him charged with the blackest treason against the citizens of the United States; that he was authorized, from the evidence in his possession, and from the authority vested in him by Congress, to hang me immediately as a traitor, and that nothing could save me but a candid confession who in the army, or among the citizens at large, were my accomplices in the horrid and nefarious designs I had meditated, for the last ten days past.

I answered, that no part of my conduct could justify the charge, as General Arnold, if present, would prove; that what I had done of a public nature was by the direction

of that general, and, if wrong, he was amenable; not me, for acting agreeably to his orders.

He immediately replied, "Sir, do you know that Arnold has fled, and that Mr. Anderson, whom you have piloted through our lines, proves to be Major John Andre, the Adjutant-General of the British army, now our prisoner? I expect him here, under a guard of 100 horse, to meet his fate as a spy, and, unless you confess who were your accomplices, I shall suspend you *both* on yonder tree," pointing to a tree before the door.—He then ordered the guards to take me away.

In a short time I was remanded into the room, and urged to a confession of accomplices, with General Washington's declaration, that the evidence he possessed of my

being a party, was sufficient to take away my life.

I answered, that as a citizen I did not conceive myself amenable to a military jurisdiction; that I well recollected when he came forward from Philadelphia to take the command of the army at the camp at Cambridge, the provincial congress of New York addressed him for the purpose of preserving the rights of citizenship; his reply to them was, that "when he assumed the character of the soldier, he did not forget that of the citizen; and that he looked forward with pleasure to that auspicious period, when the rights of his country being secured, he might retire to the sweets of peaceful tranquillity under the protection of the law." I told him I could not conceive that any simple recommendatory resolve of Congress, to which he alluded, could abrogate a fun-

damental clause in the constitution of the state, of which I was a member, and which had, for the benefit of the subject, established the right of *trial by jury* in all cases whatever; that it was a violation of that right, which congress had assigned, amongst others, for their separation from Great Britain, and which had given birth to the present war.

Enraged with the force of this reasoning, with vehement indignation he ordered the guards to re-confine me.

Some time afterwards, Colonel Hamilton came to me, and compassionately, as he said, recommended me to declare all I knew respecting the business of which I was accused, observing that many were mistrusted, who, if they confessed, would be in a worse situation; but as he supposed this was not my case I had now a chance to save my

life, and for the sake of my family I ought to preserve it, with many more expressions to the same effect, &c.

General Washington then came into the room, and in the most imperative tone questioned Colonel Hamilton why he was so long speaking to me? The colonel replied, "General, I know Smith has meant well during his agency in this transaction, for in all our public meetings at New York his general demeanour spoke a spirit of moderation, nor could he be persuaded to any other opinion than that this contest between Great Britain and her colonies would be compromised, as in the business of the stamp and other acts of which we complained to the British government, in our petition by Governor Penn; his object and the principles of his family have been uniformly intent to reconcile the sons of Great Britain to their brethren in America, and in all social meet-

ings his language was, "*United we flourish, divided we fall.*" I must therefore declare my mind in saying that he ought to be discharged."

General Washington then looked sternly around, and said in a gentle tone of voice, "Colonel Hamilton, I am not yet satisfied; take him into the back room; we must know something more about this business." I was then conducted into the recess from whence I had been brought; and I entered it greatly agitated by the extraordinary usage I had met with.

I was about to take some refreshment, when one of the centinels, posted at the door, vowed that if I touched any of the biscuits that were in the room, he would shoot me dead. The fact was, that the room was a kind of butlery, in which Mrs. Arnold had placed her stores, and I was in

the act of taking a piece of the biscuit, not having had any sustenance from 12 o'clock the preceding day. I therefore began, among other reflections, to think Mr. Washington, or some of the family, or suite, might have some tenderness to the rights of nature, in the discharge of those offices which it requires; especially, as both at New York and Belmont (the name of my residence) the laws of hospitality were well attended to on the part of my family and myself towards General Washington. I was particularly intimate with the general's son-in-law Colonel Custos, when he was at King's College, New York, for his education, a foundation liberally patronized by his present Majesty, whose gracious benevolence was so handsomely attested by Sir James Jay, in his narrative of his mission to England, to collect donations towards the support of that infant institution for the cultivation of science. He made his voyage

in the year 1764, the discharge of which duty is faithfully detailed by Sir James in his reply to Barlow Trecoticke, then alderman of London. Sir James is a brother of John Jay, who was the first American ambassador sent to the court of Spain, a gentleman of brilliant abilities, descended from a French family, who left France upon the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, for their adherence to the protestant religion. He was one of the framers of the constitution of the state of New York, and was, with Doctor Franklin, at Paris, highly instrumental, as an American ambassador, in forming the French alliance with America. Mr. Jay entertained a bitter enmity against priests of all descriptions, and at length obtained his desire to have it ordained, as a fundamental principle in that constitution, that all priests, of whatever denomination, having the care of souls, should be excluded from all secu-

lar or temporal power whatever; and to guard against all influence that the catholics might have in society, any in the communion of the church of Rome, whether as emigrants coming into that state, or otherwise, should, before they held offices of trust, renounce the influence of all princes, powers, and potentates, by oath of abjuration.

This gentleman was educated at King's College, so named in compliment to his present Majesty; he has since been in England as ambassador; he signed the commerciai treaty, by the special direction of Congress, in President Jefferson's administration; and on his return to New York he was, by the mercantile influence, elected governor of that state, the people knowing his attachment to the first principles of American opposition to the claims of Great Britain, to bind them by Lord Chatham's bill, called the Declaratory Act, "*in all cases*

whatever." This Mr. John Jay was a son-in-law of William Livingston, the governor of New Jersey, and author of the elegant poem called "Philosophic Solitude;" was one of the committee of Congress who, with Colonel Livingston, drew up the address to the people of Great Britain, declaring their reasons for the revolt of America from Great Britain, in addition to the Suffolk resolves, as they are termed, preparatory to the declaration of independence adopted by the United States in the year 1776.

This commercial treaty not suiting the French party, after Mr. Jay's triennial government expired, agreeably to the period limited by the constitution, he was removed from the seat of Government, on that account, by the demagogues of the people, and superseded by Governor George Clinton. Mr. Jay, disgusted with this treatment,

has been heard to exclaim, as General Washington did, "A REPUBLICAN IS AN UNGRATEFUL GOVERNMENT." Buonaparte thought so too, and hence all Europe are living witnesses, that tyranny, whenever it is let loose, will make gigantic strides.

I made no reply to the centinel; but remained nearly two hours in this confinement, when I heard the tramp of a number of horses near the place where I was confined, and, soon after, could clearly distinguish the voice of the unfortunate Andre, and of General Washington and his suite, who soothed him with all the blandishments that his education and distinguished rank demanded; he was courted with a smile in the face, when worse than a dagger was intended for his heart. I distinctly heard Colonel Hamilton say to a brother officer, who came out of the same room, that Major Andre was really an accomplished young

man, and he was sorry for him, for the general was determined to hang him. This expression affected me deeply, and reminded me of General Washington's declaration, that before the setting sun, on the arrival of Major Andre, both of us should be suspended "on yonder tree." The justice of the measure, or the power of putting the threat into execution, did not for a moment give me any concern for my own personal safety. I knew he was enraged, nor had my replies to his questions been in any manner calculated to appease his anger.

The sun was nearly down, and I listened attentively to hear my fate announced; but all business seemed to be conducted in whispers. In the course of my examination by General Washington, in answer to his question, "Whether I had any written correspondence with General Arnold? I had answered in the affirmative,

and that his letters to me would prove the nature of my agency with him; and I gave directions where to find the key of my desk, and the drawer where Major Andre's coat was deposited. Colonel Duer, of whom I shall speak hereafter, was a man in Washington's confidence, and was entrusted to attend to the search of my papers. Nothing could be done until Duer's return; it was late in the day when he went, and he could not go and return, the distance of forty miles, in the space of time limited for my existence. I therefore reposed myself in confidence that I should have one night to collect my scattered thoughts; and I resigned myself to the protection of Divine Providence.

It was nearly dark, when a very respectable young gentleman entered the room, and politely desired me to accompany him. I was in hopes this was a prelude to my emancipation, and I requested the honour

of his name? he answered, "it is Washington;" I said, "I presume, Sir, you hold the rank of colonel?" He told me he held no rank at all; he then conducted me to the back part of Robinson's house, where there were two horses; desired me to mount one of them, and by his guidance, in a way I had never been, we soon reached the bank of the river opposite to West Point. Here I was delivered to the custody of a Captain Sheppard, of the New Jersey Continental Troops, and did not observe I had been guarded by a troop of horse until I was placed in the ferry boat, and saw them follow Mr. Washington up the mountain; two boats followed us, composed of the guard. If I had had any inclination to throw myself overboard, I was so well guarded, that I am certain I should have been taken out of the water; for the main object of General Washington in detaining and trying me, was to obtain the knowledge of General Arnold's confederates in the army, as well as in Con-

gress. In fact, this defection of Arnold had excited such a general suspicion, that no one dare trust another; and nothing but execrations were heard from hut to hut.

I landed on the West Point side of the river, and was conducted to a hut called the provost guard-room, where I was delivered to the custody of an officer, whose name I do not recollect. It was now dark, and I was placed in a room in the hut without any light, and left to choose the softest *board* I could find for a bed. I now endeavoured to compose my mind, and attempted to sleep, when I was interrupted by the provost-martial, who entered with a pair of hand-cuffs; he was accompanied by the Reverend John Mason, of the Scotch seceders' congregation at New York. The officer was proceeding to place these delicate ruffles on my wrists, but was prevented by Mr. Mason, who offered to become my surety; and

I pledged my honour that I would not endeavour to effect my escape, nor accept the assistance of others for such a purpose. Whether this prelude of terror was intended to intimidate me, I cannot pretend to say; it however led me to suppose that very serious measures were meditated against my life. The reverend gentleman, after commiserating my unhappy situation, and expressing his extreme sorrow to find a branch of a family that he so highly respected, placed in so dangerous a predicament, assured me that his utmost exertions should not be wanting to alleviate the miseries of my confinement, and that if I would candidly declare to him how I came to be in such a situation, his utmost endeavours should be made with the commander in chief to procure my enlargement. He professed to have considerable interest with General Washington, and said that he was sent by him to interrogate me on the subject, and that if I

would confess who were General Arnold's accomplices, he would intercede for my parole, to enable me to return to my family under a guard. The soothing and consolatory conduct and conversation of this venerable gentleman would have induced me to comply with his solicitation, had I known Arnold's plot, but there was not a creature whom I could suspect to be in his confidence except Colonel William Duer, whom I saw at his house at Philadelphia in the autumn of 1778, when on my journey to Charlestown, South Carolina; and respecting whom I had heard Arnold speak in terms of the highest commendation.

I mentioned to Mr. Mason the substance of what I had declared to General Washington, and he answered that the general was much concerned to detain as a prisoner a person for whom he had a high esteem, and from whom he had received marks of distin-

guished civility and hospitality; that the commander in chief was the more enraged at the defection of General Arnold than he could have been at the treasonable conduct of any general officer under his command, from the uncommonly spirited exertions he had made in the cause of his country; and therefore he was led to suspect all around him: that from some of his papers left behind, he appeared to have been engaged in secret peculations with the commissioners, as well as with the low suttlers of the garrison; and one, whom the commander in chief strongly suspected, had absconded. He also mentioned a letter of my own among his papers, soliciting the restitution of a large quantity of Indian corn, and wished to know upon what principle I made the demand, and whether I had at any time commercial dealings or contracts with General Arnold? I gave him the strongest assurances to the contrary, adding, that I merely

applied for a return of that quantity of corn and forage that was forcibly seized by the commissaries to supply the extreme exigencies of the army, then upon the point of disbanding, for want of provisions. They had taken from the tenants of my family estate, and other poor inhabitants, all the means of subsistence possessed by their families, and had given them certificates for the amount of such seizures, but for which, when presented to the commissary or paymaster-general, they had refused payment; stating, that if they were to pay the losses, the paper money of the continent would not be of the least service to them, the depreciation then being at seventy paper dollars for one of silver, while congress had made the standard at forty. These poor people, therefore, applied to me to advise some remedy, and I applied to Major-General Robert Howe, then commanding West Point, explaining the peculiar hardship attending the situation of

these distressed families. The general, as a man of humanity, sympathized with them, and desired me to collect their certificates, make up the amount, and when the magazines at West Point were filled, which he expected would be soon, part, or the whole, of what was seized, should be restored, agreeably to the quantum specified in their respective certificates. General Howe's removal from the command at West Point, and General Arnold being appointed his successor, were therefore the circumstances that induced me to renew my application to him on this subject. The distress of the inhabitants was actually so great, that in order to obtain bread for their families, they were compelled to barter their cattle, and whatever property they could collect, as no other means remained to keep them from starvation: this state of misery induced many families to remove to a distance into the country, and suffer their farms to lay waste. They were,

in consequence, charged with being disaffected to the American cause, and upon the least suspicion that they repined at their hard lot, they were dragged before a board of committee-men, generally composed of the most violent Whigs of the country, and speculators upon the distresses of their fellow-citizens; and upon the evidence of some who were interested in the spoil, they were condemned as Tories, and adherents to the British interest. On these grounds, their names were entered into a book called the black-roll, and upon any subsequent assessment to raise money for taxes, bounties for soldiers, or other public demand, not having the means to discharge the quota assessed, they were, by warrant from a justice, distrained of whatever property they possessed, to satisfy the rapacious demand; and, in many instances, they were left naked, with their children, in the deepest state of misery.

But to return from this digression, I gave my reverend visitor all the satisfaction he could obtain from me, with many thanks for his consolatory advice. He promised, on his departure, to send me some provisions, and a blanket to rest on, an article which had not been furnished me, and he cheered me by declaring, that if what I had stated to him in my transactions with General Arnold was founded on truth, he could not conceive my case to be desperate. He then observed, there was no knowing, from the irritation of the public mind, what might be said against me; advised me to speak little, and cautiously, to any person who might ask me questions; and, above all, he concluded by telling me to place my trust in the Almighty, who had promised to be with them who called upon him in trouble. He then left me, saying that he should see General Washington, and inform me of the result the ensuing day; but I never saw nor

heard from him afterwards, nor was either blanket or refreshment sent to me that night.

To some it may seem extraordinary that a clergyman should be commissioned to undertake such a business; but when I mention that Colonel Hamilton knew my partiality towards that truly good old man, they will not be surprised; for if I had any propositions to make as a condition for my own safety, he might most naturally suppose, if I would commit myself at all, it would be to a man of Mr. Mason's amiable character. He is now no more; but he has left a son, who is also a clergyman, and a shining ornament in his profession.

It was not uncommon in America for the clergy to dabble in politics; as well in the pulpit, as on all public occasions. To this they were piously directed by congressional

resolves, authorising them to pursue such conduct; and in some instances they were appointed commissaries and quarter-masters. Of one, in particular, I cannot forbear relating the following circumstance: he was the reverend quarter-master Caldwell, and resided at Connecticut farms, near Elizabeth town, New Jersey. This reverend gentleman was a most furious persecuting demagogue, and had taken an active part in support of the American cause on all occasions, which rendered him an object of the keenest resentment among the persecuted persons; the consequence was, that in June 1780, when the royal army invaded New Jersey, under the command of Generals Knyphausen and Robertson, in passing by the reverend quarter-master's house, they saw his wife at the window, and some of the new-levied soldiers instantly shot her dead. The story is related by some with shocking circumstances of aggravation; but it is generally believed

she had come to the window from a curiosity to see the soldiers pass; and it was surmised by others, that she had imprudently been the aggressor, by hissing them, or some other act of impropriety unbecoming her sex. The reverend quarter-master himself was some time afterwards shot, for intermeddling with matters foreign to his functions.

After Mr. Mason left me I passed the night in the most solicitous anxiety for the state of my family, whose distressed situation I described when first arrested by Colonel Govion. In the morning, the commissioners of sequestration at Fish Kill, the place where my family resided, and from whence I was carried, without hesitation seized my phæton, horses, and black men-servants, as well as a nephew, who interposed to effect their rescue, and who was apprehended and sent also under guard to West Point, as an accomplice; but upon exami-

nation before General Washington he was discharged, and, by the advice of counsel, the property was returned; while my wife, and a sister, with three young children, were banished from Fish Kill, and on the road home to Belmont were denied entrance at the inns, and loaded with the bitterest execrations by the inhabitants as they passed; in short, all who were in any way connected with me, felt the effects of the popular prejudice.

On the morning after I was carried to West Point, I was visited by many from idle curiosity, and interrogated by questions as impertinent as they were cruel. I remained in this situation until the morning of the third day, with a scanty allowance of provisions, and no other beverage than water, although I offered to pay whatever the guard would require, for any accommodation which I might receive.

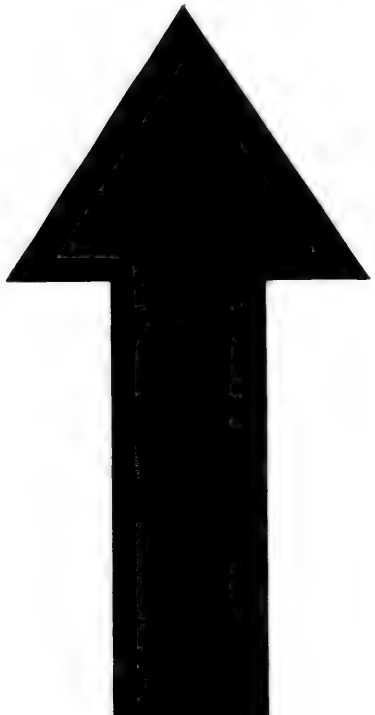
'I was at length paraded before the hut, and desired to march, with a strong guard, down to the landing. When I arrived, I saw the amiable Andre near me, amongst a crowd of officers. On stretching my hand out, and preparing to address him, I was told by Major Talmadge, sternly, that no conversation must take place between us. Soon after this two barges, well manned, rowed up to the landing-place: I thought we were to proceed together, but was soon convinced of my mistake, and was led to the sternmost vehicle, while the tide favouring, we were not long before we reached Stony Point.

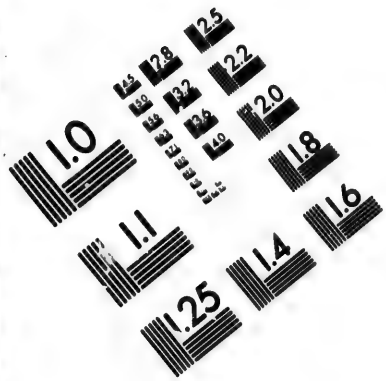
A detachment of Colonel Sheldon's corps of horse, commanded by Talmadge, met us here, and was part of the same that brought Major Andre to Robinson's house: we were soon mounted; I was here placed in the van, and Major Andre in the rear. Stony

Point was about two miles and a half distant from my residence. I was, therefore, anxious to see the state and situation of my property; and, on making the request, my wish was indulged. The situation that had taken place distressed me much, but more particularly when I found that papers had been taken from a private drawer in my desk, the key of which I had given, by General Washington's direction, to the man in his confidence, Colonel Duer, whom I have already mentioned, in order to convey to the general the letters that had passed between General Arnold and myself.

In this private drawer was the value of 30,000 dollars in Loan-Office certificates, which were afterwards allowed by Congress in payment, at the rate of thirty in the pound, New York currency, the par of exchange four shillings and six-pence sterling. Finding the letters gone, which I wished to obtain







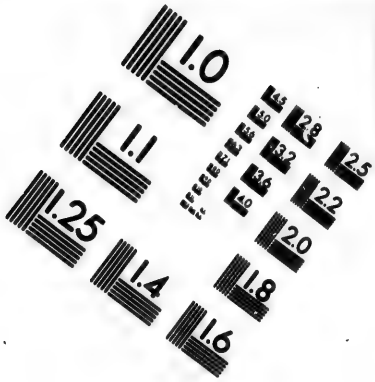
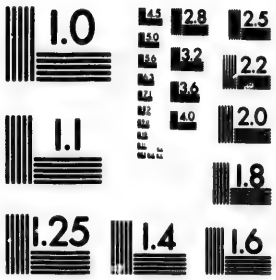
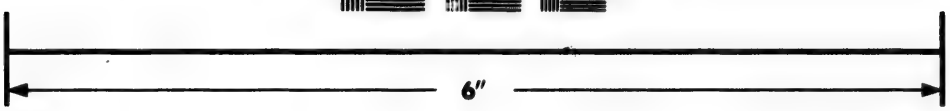


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)









Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

for my security, I was not at a loss to conjecture what had become of them. I found, however, when I demanded those letters on my trial, that they were not produced; the person who took them was probably in hopes of my speedy execution; and, in that case, he would have remained unquestioned about them. I asked Colonel Duer, some time afterwards, for information respecting the money and letters, when he assured me that he saw no papers of the description alluded to. The world, however, has not mentioned his name with extreme delicacy; and he certainly prevented my friends from saving much property which was afterwards lost.

I was re-mounted again by the officer who attended me, and soon re-joined the troop which had gone forward with Major Andre.

We crossed the brook which the Marquis

de Chastelleux speaks of, when the horrors possessed him on passing the house of Smith, where the liberties of America were bought and sold. "I cannot help remarking," says he, "on making this observation, that Smith is now confined against justice." How rashly do some people judge by the current tale. Being a Frenchman, he was totally unacquainted with the spirit of the great Alfred, who, in ordaining the right of trial by jury, established the principle, that every man is presumed innocent until he is proved guilty.

At the distance of ten miles, we were allowed to halt, and dine at the house of Mr. John Coe.

Major Talmadge, who commanded, here displayed uncommon kindness. After securing Major Andre with vigilant videts, I had the honour of his company, and

received many respectful attentions from him.

After dinner we proceeded, by a circuitous route, to Tappan, or Orange Town, and arrived there about dusk. We were paraded before the church; many of my *quondam* friends flocked round me, and from them I received the bitterest invectives. After the arrangements were made by Washington, Major Andre was comfortably lodged in a house belonging to Mr. Mabee of that village, and every attention was paid him, suitable to his rank and character. For my own part I was ordered into the church, and refreshment was sent me from Washington's table. Judge Heron, of that place, an old family friend, furnished me with a blanket to lie on, and a provost guard was placed at the church door, while two centinels kept watch within the church, to prevent my escape, with strict orders to see after me

closely. Under all this parade of terror, as many would have thought it, I felt myself in calm tranquillity, and a gleam of consolation glowed through my heart, from a perfect conviction of having done no more than my duty.

It will not be amiss here to turn back to General Arnold, and to account for the capture of Major Andre. I left the latter at Pine's bridge, and had pointed out to him the road to the White Plains, whither his passport enabled him to go, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business, as was mentioned in his pass; but he thought the road by the way of Dobbs' ferry, having the river as his guide, would be much the nearest route, and, having a good horse, he boldly ventured to take that road; but he had not proceeded more than six miles, when he was stopped by three of the New York militia, John Paulding, David Williams,

and Isaac Van Vert, who, with others, were on a scouting party, between the outposts of the two armies. These men stopped Major Andre at a place near Tarry Town, and seized his horse by the bridle in a narrow part of the road. Andre, instead of immediately producing his pass, asked where they belonged to? They answered, "*to below.*" Not suspecting deception, he replied, "*So do I,*" AND DECLARING HIMSELF A BRITISH OFFICER, INTREATED THAT HE MIGHT NOT BE DETAINED, being on pressing business! The law of the state gave to the captors of any British subject, all his property, and, of course, his horse, saddle, and bridle, were in the first instance a temptation to stop him on the least ground for suspicion, while, he being alone, they were the more bold against an *unarmed* man. Finding himself thus taken by surprise, and detained, he offered a very valuable gold watch, which, I have before observed, he

had begged me to accept, thinking it would induce them to let him pass; but this led to farther suspicion; upon which they took him aside in the bushes and searched him, until they found his papers lodged in his boots; another circumstance of suspicion was the coat I had lent him, which was crimson, with vellum button holes, bound with Prussian binding: the captors then conducted him to Lieutenant-Colonel Jamison, a continental officer, who had the command of about nine hundred men, mostly militia. When Major Andre was brought before him, he passed under the name of Anderson, choosing to hazard the greatest danger rather than let any discovery be made which could involve Arnold, before he had time to provide for his safety. With this view, to effect Arnold's escape, he requested that a line might be written to him, to acquaint him with Anderson's detention, which Jamison granted. The papers which

were found in the major's pocket-book, were in Arnold's hand-writing, and contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences, at West Point and its dependencies, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, an estimate of the number of men that were ordinarily on duty to defend them, and a copy of a state of affairs that had been laid before a council of war, by the commander in chief, on the 6th of the month. These papers were enclosed in a packet to General Washington, accompanied with a letter from Major Andre, avowing himself to be the adjutant-general of the British army, and was forwarded by Jamison. Washington, at that time, was upon his return from Hartford, from his conference with Count Rochambeau, and the messenger missed him by taking a different road from that on which the general had gone. Through this accident, and the man being obliged to make

a circuit, the letter to Arnold, informing him of Anderson's capture, reached him a short time before Washington's packet arrived at Robinson's house. Upon the receipt of it, Arnold seized the messenger's horse, and instantly proceeded down a precipice, almost perpendicular, to the river, where boats were always ready to pass to and from West Point; he sprang into one, and directed the hands to row him down the river, and make for the Vulture; but he had scarcely passed Stony and Verplank's Point, when Colonel Hamilton arrived at the latter, with orders to stop him; for by the time Washington reached the house, the packet from Jamison had arrived. Major Andre had been three days in custody before Arnold's design was known in camp. Had it succeeded, the consequence would have been the termination of the war; for on the loss of West Point, the troops under Washington would have been exposed, with

the remainder of his army, to the united attack of the royal forces by land and water, and general ruin to the American cause must have been the result, as Washington would have been taken with the garrison, a circumstance which appears from his letter to a friend on that occasion, couched in the following terms:—"How far Arnold meant to involve me in the catastrophe of this place, does not appear by any indubitable evidence, and I am rather inclined to think he did not wish to hazard the more important object, by attempting to combine two events, the lesser of which might have marred the greater." He goes on to say, "a combination of extraordinary circumstances, an unaccountable depravation of mind in a man of the first abilities, and the virtue of three militia-men, threw the adjutant-general of the British forces (with full proof of Arnold's intention) into our hands; and but for the egregious folly, or the bewildered concep-

tion, of Lieutenant-Colonel Jamison, who seemed lost in astonishment, and not to have known what he was doing, I should have gotten Arnold."

But I must return to the situation of Major Andre. On the 25th of September General Washington appointed a board of fourteen general officers, (amongst whom was the Marquis de la Fayette and Baron De Stuben,) with the assistance of the judge-advocate, General John Lawrence, of whom I have before spoken, to examine into, and to report Major Andre's case, to form some judgment in what light he was to be considered, and to what punishment he was liable.

Major Andre, nobly disdaining to shield himself under any evasive subterfuge, and solely anxious to place his character in the fairest point of view, so as to prevent its

being discoloured by present or future circumstances, voluntarily declared more than was required, and did not palliate any thing relating to himself; while with the most guarded caution, and the most scrupulous nicety and circumspection, he concealed whatever might criminate others. When indirectly questioned respecting myself, he generously answered, that he would fully declare his sentiments, as they would have more weight, from his own peculiar situation. The candour and magnanimity of his conduct, united to the dignity of his deportment, while it struck his enemies with admiration, inspired an affecting tenderness for his situation throughout the American army.

On the 29th of September, the board of general officers met, when a number of questions were proposed to him: the judge-advocate, who was by birth an Englishman,

and a gentleman of the greatest sensibility, was agitated with the tenderest emotion towards him, requested him not to hasten his replies to the interrogatories, nor to suffer his feelings to be embarrassed from the peculiarity of his situation; and if the questions appeared to him to be worded with ambiguity, to demand a fair explanation of them, which should be granted. And here, before I proceed, I beg leave to mention, upon good authority, that it had been hinted to Major Andre by some of the officers who guarded him, or by some of General Washington's suite, that if he was demanded by Sir Henry Clinton in exchange, it was General Washington's determination to relinquish his prisoner. When Major Andre, on his capture, obtained leave to write to General Washington, he strongly urged that he could not by any means be considered as a spy; these sentiments he maintained when brought to General Washington at Robert-

son's house. From the conversation which took place between Washington, the Marquis de la Fayette, and Major Andre, which I could plainly hear in the room wherein I was confined, Major Andre urged, that he came on shore under the sanction of a passport or flag of truce, transmitted to him by General Arnold, who was, at the time of granting it, a major-general in the American army, and, of course, had sufficient authority so to do, and "I clearly recollect the flag was sent to Colonel Beverly Robinson, Mr. John Anderson, or any other person they might authorize to return with me." As much dispute had arisen at the time in both the Royal and American armies, on the justice and propriety of executing a number of persons, whether they were as couriers, sanctioned by flags of truce, or came under the description of spies, it was generally conceived by the American army that the institution of this board of general

officers was for the purpose of fixing some precise points to discriminate *these* characters, rather than seriously to try the major. No precise charge was exhibited against him; the intention of the board, it was supposed, would be governed by the interrogatories before-mentioned and the answers to them, in the decision of the major's case. Baron De Stuben, who was one of the board, opposed most of the general officers, in their opinion that Major Andre ought to be considered as a spy, upon the principle, agreeably to the law of nations, as established by Grotius and Puffendorf, who, as well as more modern authors on the subject, declare, that an enemy, having once entered the lines of an enemy, or even the fortress of an enemy, or his garrison, under the sanction of a flag, the commanding officer of that garrison or fortress being at the time authorized to grant such flag, his personal safety becomes guaranteed from

violation, the moment a treaty is entered into for the delivery of the garrison, whether the surrender of the garrison was to be by treachery or otherwise.

From these premises the conclusion is clear, that Major Andre came out under every fair and justifiable sanction, and unquestionably ought to have been returned upon the demand of Sir Henry Clinton, through the very humane interference of Lieutenant-General James Robertson, purposely appointed to solicit the release of the adjutant-general, who was accompanied to Dobbs' ferry by the governor of New York, by Lieutenant-Governor Elliott, and Chief Justice William Smith; that by their uniting the military and civil powers, as both civil and military characters were at that period prisoners of war on both sides, any impediment to an exchange might be the more readily removed, and the horrors of war, as

much as possible, alleviated by a generous system of reciprocation. Such a system would have proved beneficial to the unhappy prisoners on either side, who were at that period deprived of those necessaries and consolations most dear to man. What I mention as the then sentiments of the amiable, virtuous, and humane Baron De Stuben, were certain declarations which he made in company, when I was present, since the war, and deplored his having been overruled by a majority of the board, so contrary to his feelings of humanity, and sentiments of justice.

Andre was fascinated by the alluring assurances which prefaced the judge-advocate's address to him, as well as by the declarations given by the officers, servants, and other attendants of General Washington; but he was no less confident from the firm ground on which he stood, he being invited on

shore by General Arnold, who had the same power, in his own separate command, to give him that invitation, agreeably to the resolve of Congress, as General Washington himself; for surely no man had served his country, not even Washington, with more intrepidity, zeal, and fidelity; nor had he gained more honourable applause, either in the army of the United States, or among the citizens at large. It may be said, that the business was of a traitorous nature, and of which Major Andre was well informed: but if we allow this to be the fact, it does not contravene the general system, "that stratagems are justifiable in war." If this were a crime, the criminality rested on the officer who made the defection, not on the gallant major who, in full uniform, in discharge of the duty due to his king and country, boldly went out to receive the terms and conditions of a returning rebel to the allegiance of his sovereign; and in which return he was ac-

tuated by a sense of his former infamy, when injured by those who had refused justice to his claims, for faithful service, in *their* behalf, which had procured him nothing but broken limbs, and a debilitated constitution.

Here we see Major Andre, in the discharge of his duty, acting in obedience to his sovereign's proclamation, and the injunctions by his majesty's commissioners of 1778, engaged for pacification, namely, those amiable characters the Earl of Carlisle, Governor Johnston, and the benevolent and highly informed Lord Auckland, late president of the Board of Trade and Plantations. But the Marquis De Chastelleux, while he pays many compliments to the adjutant-general, in his Travels in 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783, stiles him the *imprudent Andre:* on which I will only remark, that if the marquis was horror-stricken when passing over a small brook

near to, and after leaving my house in the rear, plundered, forlorn, and destitute, by that devastating spirit that has depopulated half his own country, and decapitated the sovereign he then served, it would be curious to know whether he thought *he* was *prudent*, to leave his own country, when in the service of his king, and enrol himself in the ranks of a faction, whose principles were more demoniac than those of the murdering Robespierre, or the insulting Corsican; and more sanguinary than Cromwell's. Major Andre, influenced by those sternly noble principles, which animate the breast of every virtuous freeman, thought no sacrifice dearly bought that could rescue two countries, so blended by law, similarity of manner, habit, consanguinity, and religion, from the insidious rapacity of the Gallic yoke.

The board of general officers having as-

sembled, in apparently solemn sanctity, by reiteration of the same question in different words and modifications of language, at length extracted from the defenceless, friendless Andre something like a declaration that he could not return on board the Vulture under the sanction of the flag that had brought him on shore, from whence they inferred, he did not conceive himself under the protection of that flag after he was once landed within the American lines; nor indeed could he, from the reasons already stated, namely, the change of dress, which he declared, in his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, was imposed upon him, as well as the mode of return. He generously forbore to assign to them the reasons which had induced General Arnold, and which Arnold had mentioned to him, to prefer returning him by land to New York, and also lest, by saying too much, he might criminate others, for whose preser-

vation he appeared more solicitous than for himself. No witnesses were adduced, nor could any be brought who had the slightest knowledge of the secret part of this transaction; of course, none were called; and the board of general officers proceeded, after making a statement of some facts, to wit, that he had quitted his uniform which he had worn under his surtout, for a coat given to me in exchange for one of my own, a crimson broad cloth, vellum button holed, and bound with Prussian binding; that he was furnished with a horse, and, under the assumed name of John Anderson, with a passport from General Arnold, was proceeding towards New York, when he was stopped by John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, three of the New York militia, who, with others, were scouting between the out-posts of the two armies; from which facts the board of general officers proceeded to declare, "*That Major John*

Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death.

This adjudication was passed on the 25th of September; Major Andre was captured on the 23d; General Arnold made his escape on the 25th; and on the 26th, Sir Henry Clinton wrote to General Washington to reclaim Major Andre. On the 30th, General Washington answered General Clinton; in his letter he says—"that though Major Andre was under such circumstances as would have justified the most summary proceeding against him, he had referred his case to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, whose report, founded on his free and voluntary confession of his letters, was inclosed."

Here I must remark, that the sentence of the board of general officers was by no means unanimous, and the letter *from Major Andre, assigning his reasons, why he ought not to have been considered as a spy, was not transmitted by General Washington.* I refer to the letter that the major wrote when under the custody of Colonel Jamison, which placed Major Andre's character and abilities in the most amiable point of view.

This letter from General Washington was immediately answered by another from Sir Henry Clinton, containing a proposition to send General Robertson, with the gentlemen I mentioned, and requested Washington safely to conduct them to meet himself, or whomsoever he should appoint, to give him a statement of facts, and to explain Sir Henry's sentiments on the subject. "He urged it as a point of the highest concern to

humanity, that General Washington should fully understand the whole state of the business, before he proceeded to carry the judgment of the board into execution."

General Greene, who had presided at this board, was appointed to meet General Robertson. He had discovered the severest malignity against Major Andre from the first hour of his capture, and, in conjunction with the Marquis de la Fayette, was determined to take his life; while La Fayette publicly declared, that General Washington himself deserved the halter, if he did not apply it to the unfortunate Andre. Greene met General Robertson at Dobbs's ferry; the other two gentlemen before-mentioned were not permitted to come on shore; for the fact was, that their superior abilities, virtue, and integrity of character, were well known, and equally dreaded. It will not be amiss here to take some notice of the

character, and the principles which assuredly influenced the conduct of General Greene, though I am ready to give him all the advantage of "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*," which applies here as well to Major Andre as himself, and also to many others in this tragical drama, who now, in the energetic language of Dr. Young, are "with the years beyond the flood."

Yet this general rule of tenderness to the frailties of human nature, adopted by philanthropists, if attended to, respects the dead, while it injures the living, by preventing posterity from having the light of biographical experience; for surely it is wisdom to regulate life by the sage conduct of those whose career in the various parts of it has been stamped with honourable applause, or has been degraded by merited infamy. It was a fixed system with General Washington "to take the passions of men as nature

had given them, and those principles as a guide, which are generally the rule of action." General Greene was of the quaker persuasion, although a military man; a ludicrous contradiction; for that sect are well known to possess an aversion to arms; yet General Greene took to the field, and none of the American officers displayed a more martial spirit than himself, except General Arnold. General Greene, from the first, viewed Arnold's rapid advancement and military achievements with envy, and I have witnessed with no small concern, when in company with them both, that "*splenetic cordiality*," as Sterne expresses the idea, which is the eternal companion of competitors, ambitious for renown.

It was well known that General Greene's mind, previous to engaging in the service of his country, was distempered by one of the most painful domestic calamities, that could

agonise the soul of a man of spirit. This ostensible misery had followed him to the camp at Orange Town; too many flagrant proofs had blunted the edge of those fine feelings known only to sympathetic spirits, drawn irresistibly by the silken ties of disinterested affection; approved by reason, cemented by love; sanctioned by virtue, and applauded by angels: General Greene, in short, was chagrined by the comparative happiness which his competitor for fame enjoyed, in obtaining the amiable Miss Shippen, of Philadelphia, of which city she was the ornament and pride.

By every insinuating address he courted the favour of General Washington, who appointed him to the presidency of this board of general officers, in preference to General Robert Howe, a gentleman and a philanthropist, who was not calculated for conniving at the murdering *decree*. Indeed,

the defection of General Arnold was so great a surprise, that General Washington knew not in whom to confide, each of his officers being envious of the other, and suspicions engendered by former jealousies spread abroad, while Pandora's poisonous box was opened for their reception: General Greene availed himself of every malignant, deadly mischief flowing from it, and improved the occasion to manifest his fatal determinations. This general was therefore selected and appointed for the interview with General Robertson; who, by the clearest reasoning, demonstrated that Major Andre did not come under the character or description of a spy, and proposed that General Knyphausen, of the auxiliary troops, in the service of his Britannic Majesty, on the one part, and General Count Rochambeau, as not so immediately interested, should be consulted, and their opinions taken on a subject so interesting to the cause of huma-

nity. General Robertson, indeed, made use of every argument to induce a re-consideration of Major Andre's case; but the proposed reference was not acceded to by General Washington. He quoted and proved many instances of Sir Henry Clinton's merciful inclination of mind, in cases where, upon similar applications, Sir Henry had softened the rigorous severities of war; and, in the most impressive language, urged the necessity of adopting a reciprocal disposition of amity, as most compatible with the genuine spirit of real bravery; offering, on the discharge of Major Andre, to engage that any person whatever, in the custody of the opposite party, should be immediately restored to his liberty; adding, that Sir Henry Clinton entertained a high esteem for Major Andre, and wished an interchange of such civilities, as would lay himself under the most permanent obligations; in short, every persuasion that could be urged, was

resorted to by General Robertson, that could excite the commiseration of any other man but General Greene, who even refused to deliver the purport of General Robertson's proposal of vesting the decision as recited, or of mentioning any of the arguments adduced by Robertson to General Washington. Such unfeeling apathy might, however, have been anticipated by those who knew the unfeeling principles by which that general was influenced.

No gentleman, perhaps, possessed the powers of persuasion in a more eminent degree than Lieutenant-General Robertson. He was a Scotchman, a native of Fifeshire; and with the firm integrity of his countrymen, he united the experience of a veteran, in policy and military knowledge. His adroit and perspicuous answers, when examined before the House of Commons, were at once a display of his abilities as a

soldier, and of his inflexible loyalty as a Briton. The wisdom of government was never more demonstrated than in his appointment to the chief civil authority as governor of New York, that city having been Lieutenant-General Robertson's residence since the pacification of 1760. He was well known and equally beloved by the inhabitants of the province; and when colonel of his majesty's 16th regiment of foot, during the troubles that agitated the minds of the inhabitants, in consequence of their discontents, arising from the stamp and other acts of parliament, which were deemed obnoxious, he invariably was the mediator between the civil and military powers. Hence, by his wisdom and discreet deportment, a spirit of harmony was cultivated and maintained; and there never was a governor appointed by the crown, who more fully possessed the hearts of the people, except Governor Clinton, the father of Sir

Henry Clinton, the commander in chief, who was the idol of the province. This fact is mentioned in Chief Justice Smith's History of New York. Lieutenant-General Robertson, with such abilities, of course, became the most eligible person for a mission of so humane and political a nature, uniting in his person the civil and military characters, which well qualified him to effect the exchange in the proposal solicited by Sir Henry Clinton.

By the long residence of General Robertson in New York, he was well acquainted with the canting disposition and character of his Eastern neighbours, who, having incessantly the sound of religion on the tongue, as a mask more effectually to deceive and surprise the unwary, are never really known until deception discovers their hypocrisy.

Upon General Robertson's departure from General Greene, he pathetically urged the re-consideration of the subject of their interview. But Greene being determined not to alter the decision of the board of general officers, of which he was president, did not relate to Washington the particulars of the interview, which, in the then state of General Washington's mind, would have saved the life of Major Andre, or, at least, would have mitigated the punishment. For this apathetic and inhuman silence, Congress effectually remunerated Greene, by giving him a valuable plantation, in the state of Georgia, the meed of his indefatigable services, but which was, ultimately, his bane, and the cause of his premature death; for depending too much upon his hardy constitution, contrary to the advice of his friends, he would, to accomplish the duties, and acquire the simple character of a planter,

venture out, and subject himself to the meridian blaze of the sun, in order to superintend his negro labourers: in one of these perambulations he received the "*coup de soliel,*" or, stroke of the sun, as the French West Indians term the effects which Europeans feel from too great an exertion, while subjected to the solar heat; and fell a victim to his own obstinacy, unrelented by some, and deplored by others; for political attachments bore their preponderance in that unhappy, divided, and distracted country, till the last hour of the unfortunate war; and even now they are far, very far, from extinction. In the minds of some this general still lives, and is considered as the *deputy*-saviour of his country. Hosanna one hour, and crucify the next, was the prevailing principle among the Americans! "*Sic transit gloria mundi!*"

The malignity, virulence, and savage bar-

barity that, at the above-mentioned time, pervaded all ranks, classes, and denominations, whether in the civil or military line, cannot be delineated in any terms but such as must agonise the heart of sensibility, and cause a blush on the cheek of civilised humanity; and the baneful effects of which were not eradicated so late as the year 1801. When, at a place called Ninety Six, and at Augusta, in Georgia, in a large company, among the gentry of the country, where, it would be supposed, humanity would prevail, were it only through decency, and with a view to example, I heard them boast of having committed barbarities shocking to human nature. One instance was that of an old, grey-headed justice of the peace, who solemnly declared he had, during the war, shot, at different actions, and in cold blood, ninety-nine Tories, and felt unhappy he had not accomplished the complete hundred! Shocked at the ferocity of this sanguinary

monster, I pressed my friend and fellow-traveller to make a precipitate departure, although we had rode a great distance that day, and were both fatigued and hungry; he was of my opinion, and we therefore left the cannibal-justice to try some causes which, he said, would afford some sport, being only a few bastardies, rapes, and similar trifles, as he termed them; indeed, before we got off, he went to the full fruition of his mirth, the bottle and the bible, inseparable companions in that country, during their summary modes of adjudication! We were, in fact, happy in escaping from the sight and association of beings abhorrent to human nature; and hastened towards Augusta, in Georgia. I cannot pass over a circumstance that happened at this latter place, which excited some merriment, as a contrast to the anecdote I have just related.

A Connecticut merchant is the denomination applied individually to a set of people who, in the autumnal months, leave Connecticut river, and, in small sloops, schooners, or shallops, run down the continent, laden with onions, apples, cyder, potatoes, and sometimes New England rum and pork, having little more nautical skill than that of ascertaining the direction of the coast, keeping within soundings, and carefully avoiding the stream, which constantly runs from the Gulph of Mexico to the Banks of Newfoundland. One of these merchants had reached Savannah, the capital of Georgia, and finding the market glutted with what he called his *corn* customers, honest Nathan * was advised to try his market at Au-

* I hope the reader will not suspect that I mean by this anecdote any reflections on the character of the quakers—far from it. In this country, in particular, they are an ornament to their profession; and, perhaps, the most consistent people, as a body, that America can boast of.

gusta, in Georgia, then the seat of government, under the administration of Governor Tellfair. The merchant's name was Nathan Putnam, a near relation of the celebrated General Putnam, who, with Doctor Warren, of Boston, so vigorously defended Bunker's Hill, in 1775, against the British troops, in the Massachuset government. Merchant Putnam had applied to a Mr. Longstreet, a native of Prince Town, New Jersey, to purchase his cargo of combustibles,—a bargain was struck; but the merchant not having delivered the combustibles within the time limited by the contract, a dispute arose; when Longstreet, who hated the New England people, whom he termed Yankies, was determined to seize the goods, as forfeited by the contract, and apply them to his own use; he therefore armed a party to effect his purpose, who, having drunk very freely of the hard, strong cider, which is called wring-jaw-cider, from its being boiled down

and distilled, they proceeded to seize merchant Putnam; and the more effectually to gain their point, some of them declared he was the identical Benedict Arnold, who had confederated to give up West Point to the British, and had come there in disguise. It being in the twilight, and the merchant resembling in size and appearance the general alluded to, the report was instantly believed, and the poor merchant being seized, in vain denied the charge, and appealed to many persons as to the identity of his person. They were actually proceeding to tar and roll him in a bed of feathers, and from thence to throw him into the Savannah river, when he was fortunately known by his voice to a Colonel Dorsey, and with much difficulty recovered by the colonel, who had been at his father's house during the war, when in the continental service; while, being a quaker, he merely affirmed he was not the real Benedict Arnold, having served

under that general in his march from the camp at Cambridge to the walls of Quebec. The interference of Colonel Dorsey, however, would have been of no avail, had he not been highly and deservedly respected, as a gentleman of liberality, courage, and influence. Hearing the tumultuous uproar, I was proceeding to enquire into the cause, when I was met by Colonel Dorsey, with whom I became acquainted in England soon after the American war, and who, knowing my precarious situation, was coming forward, from political reasons, to warn me of my danger; on our meeting, he strongly urged my departure, lest any suspicion should arise, which might prove injurious to my personal safety.

Being acquainted with the governor's lady, whom I knew in 1774, and having brought letters of recommendation to the governor, from his friends in Charleston, with whom

I had frequently dined in company with the people of the first distinction in the country; the legislature then sitting, and it being also the sitting of the supreme court of judicature for the state, accompanied with the usual commission of oyer and terminer, I was not intimidated by the gentlemen of the mobility; in fact, I wished to hear the debates, and the new mode of administering justice. It was, however, a friendly caution on the part of Colonel Dorsey, and which I found, on adherence to it, of great utility to me, in travelling through the continent in general; and in this instance particularly, for the fracas just mentioned had revived the malevolence of party; and the whole history of General Arnold's defection from the American cause became again the subject of detail. I have sat in public companies, have been on the road travelling, *incognito*, and heard myself almost as severely execrated as an accom-

plice with General Arnold, and as much threatened, as he himself could possibly be, if he were to fall into their hands. Such incidents forcibly brought to my remembrance an expression of General Washington to my friend Colonel Hay, when I was under my trial for life, viz. "that we may as well hang him as not, for he can never be happy if acquitted." It is somewhat remarkable, that he never published the sentence of the court-martial which, for six weeks, was employed in my trial, thereby intending to fix a stigma that, he conceived, would embitter my future life. I am confident that he anxiously meditated my destruction; but, being favoured by the law, and the hand of Divine Providence, which sustained me under my severe afflictions, I was enabled to offer a defence, that baffled every attempt to cause me to suffer the tragical fate of the lamented Andre:—Yet Washington would have attempted my de-

struction, had he not been dissuaded by General Greene, on account of the insufficiency of the evidence, and the influence of his lady, (of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter,) as well as from a special regard which General Greene bore towards a favourite nephew, Lieutenant-Colonel William Livingston, of Colonel Webb's regiment of Continentals, who fought under his command at Rhode Island, in the year 1779; he therefore affectionately interested himself in my behalf. The very handsome manner in which General Greene spoke of this young and gallant officer, as well as of Colonel Henry B. Livingston, who were both in this action, did him great honour; his eulogium being strictly true, and much less than the objects of it, from all circumstances, deserved.

From the cool and intrepid conduct of General Greene at Rhode Island, at the pe-

riod above-mentioned, and the combinations and intrigues of Generals Gates, Miflin, and others, against General Washington, he became more closely attached to General Greene than any officer under his command, and was supposed instrumental in the disgraceful act of superseding General Gates, by the appointment of General Greene to the command of the American southern army; and from that period they seemed to be actuated by one common interest, which clearly accounts for that unison of design, which was evident in the conduct of the commander in chief and the president of the board instituted by the former, for the fate of the unfortunate adjutant-general.

When General Robertson left General Greene at Dobbs's ferry, and returned to the gentlemen who accompanied him in the flag of truce, he was not without hopes that some remaining principle of humanity, or

spark of tenderness, which General Greene had discovered, when the purport of the interview was related to the chieftain, might excite a spirit of clemency towards many that might otherwise fall victims to rigorous severity,* in the further prosecution of the war. But he was mistaken; for as he came resolved to withstand all entreaties of humanity, so he was determined not to suggest to his principal any matter that might excite remorse in his mind, but, on the contrary, like another Iago, festered the wound that he had opened. A furious letter from General Arnold, replete with threats in case Major Andre should suffer under the sentence of the board of general officers, charging General Washington with being answerable for all the bloodshed consequent on that event, increased the flame. This

* A large number of the citizens of South Carolina had virtually forfeited their lives at this time, and yet were spared by Sir Henry Clinton.

letter added fuel to the rancourous enmity he entertained against his ancient rival, and tended rather to precipitate the deplored event, or, at least, to make it the more inevitable; while General Robertson was censured for, what was termed, the absurdity of presenting it.

From the 25th of September, the day of the appointment of the board of officers by General Washington, to the 5th of October, was passed in the transmission of flags on this unhappy subject, during which time Major Andre calmly composed his mind with philosophic, but rather with Christian fortitude, preparing for whatever might be the event of the negociation, which he understood was making in his behalf: but he was at length informed that the die was cast, and his destiny irretrievable, conformably to the usage of war annexed to his sentence. He then wrote to his most worthy friend

and patron, Sir Henry Clinton, in language which no pen could surpass; and also a letter to General Washington, replete with all the dignified sentiment of a man of honour, and with all the pathos of a man of the finest feelings, earnestly requesting that he might die as a soldier, and not as a malefactor; to which, however, no reply was made. The following is the letter last alluded to:

"*Tappan, Oct.* 1, 1780.

"SIR,

"BUOYED above the terror of death, by the consciousness of a life devoted to honourable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected.

"Sympathy towards a soldier will surely

induce your excellency, and a military tribunal, to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour.

"Let me hope, Sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy, and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your breast, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet.

"I have the honour to be,
your excellency's most obedient,
and most humble servant,
JOHN ANDRE,
Adjutant-General to the British Army."

During all this period, from the time of our being conducted from West Point, the 26th of September, to the 30th, I was closely guarded in the church of Tappan, or

Orange Town, and there were not wanting those who gave me intimations of the plans that were formed against the life of Major Andre, as well as the engines that were at work against myself; and I shall ever retain, in grateful remembrance, the tender and sympathising consolations, which I received from a very young gentleman of the name of Edwards, from Massachuset's-Bay government, who often commanded the guard, under whose care I was confined. The most virtuous and worthy of the aged inhabitants of the county of Orange did not fail to visit me on this occasion; and particularly the good Judge Cove, of Kakiat, Judge Heron, and Abraham Thew, Esq. a man who had served his country with the most unexampled zeal and fidelity, during the Canadian war, which terminated in the peace of 1763, and who, as a reward for his prowess and gallantry, was so highly complimented by the friend of my family, the late Lord

Jeffery Amherst, whose memory will live in the annals of military virtue and honour.

My turn was now to commence, and, on the day appointed for my trial, the judge-advocate, by order of General Washington, who was prosecutor, exhibited ten separate charges against me, so artfully drawn up, that the proof of one would necessarily involve, as by inference, some testimony to support the other. Aware of the snare which was laid for me, I requested that the charges might be consolidated into one general accusation. Accordingly, on the ensuing day, when the court was convened, this request was granted; and I was ordered to answer to the following charge, with the usual ceremonial:—

"You stand charged with aiding and assisting Benedict Arnold, late a major-general in our service, in a combination with the

enemy, for the purpose of taking, seizing, and killing such of the loyal citizens and soldiers of these United States, as were in garrison at West Point, and its dependencies."

In answer to this charge, I objected to the legality, or propriety, of being tried by a military tribunal; for, as a citizen, I conceived myself only amenable to the civil authority of the state, to which I belonged, which had established the right of trial by jury in the constitution recently adopted, determining the liberties of the subjects within the state, and had ordained "That the right of trial by jury, in all cases wherein it had been formerly used in the colony of New York, should be, and remain, inviolate for ever." I was answered by the court, that I was tried by a resolve of congress, passed in the year 1777, authorizing the commander in chief of the army, to hear and

try by court-martial, any of the citizens of the United States, who should harbour or secret any of the subjects or soldiers of the King of Great Britain, knowing them to be such, or should be instrumental in conveying intelligence to the enemy, and, if found guilty, should be condemned and executed as a traitor, assassin, and spy. To this I objected, that the resolve of Congress just alluded to, was possibly passed anterior to the adoption of the several constitutions of the United States, when there were no legal establishments, and was introduced to supply the want of civil jurisdictions in that early stage of the war; and that I could not conceive how a mere resolve of congress could abrogate a fundamental article in any of the civil constitutions of the United States; for, if so, it made the military paramount to the civil authority, and would establish, if the court were to proceed on my trial, a precedent dangerous to the

liberties of the subject; that it would excite eventually the indignation of my fellow-citizens, in destroying one of the established principles of liberty belonging to the subject, and the violation of the right of trial by jury, one of the principal reasons assigned by congress for their separation from Great Britain, in the declaration of independence, as well as allowing the military an extent of power incompatible with a free government.

The court, however, after having withdrawn some time for consultation, overruled my objections, and proceeded to examine the evidence in support of the prosecutor's charge.

The first that were produced, were the Marquis de la Fayette, General Knox, and Colonels Harrison and Hamilton; the purport of whose testimony was, my declara-

tion to General Hamilton, when brought before him at Robinson's house from Fish Kill. In giving their evidence separately, they each deviated from the other, although they were all present at the time of examination before the court-martial.

General Knox and Colonel Hamilton came, in testimony, more pointed to the exact truth of what I had declared, especially the latter, whose evidence was perfectly correct, by which was anticipated what must have been otherwise extracted in cross-examination; yet Hamilton artfully threw in a chain of reasoning, tending to prove my being in full knowledge of General Arnold's intentions. Harrison's testimony was imperfect on the most material points, as he detailed those parts that militated against me in support of the charge, and excluded those that favoured my life; for, in all these cases, a man's declaration should be taken connec-

tively, and not be detached; otherwise, by selecting some parts, and rejecting others, in support of a charge, it must be evident that the most innocent man may be made to contradict, and even to condemn himself.

The Marquis de la Fayette was most widely different in his testimony from the rest of these gentlemen; he delivered his evidence with acrimonious severity, and malignant bitterness: he asserted as part of my declaration to General Washington matters that I could not have mentioned; and had my life, or that of a hundred others, depended on his credibility before an ignorant court-martial, all would have been forfeited.

I had paid particular attention to the testimony of General Knox and Colonel Hamilton, in my notes taken on their evidence; and in my cross-examination of the marquis,

I applied their answers and remarks to his recollection, which did not a little embarrass him. I could plainly perceive the court-martial were sensible that he was mistaken; and I most sincerely hope he erred from ignorance of the true import of the English language.

The avowed enmity which the marquis entertained against General Arnold, induced him to take vengeance on all who were supposed to be in the least degree connected with him, and there were so many presumptive circumstances which favoured my being of that complexion, that they in some measure account for his vindictiveness. Previous to this event, we had been on good terms; but he left the court-martial much chagrined, and I understood from one of General Washington's domestics, who daily brought me provisions, and who was a confidential servant of the general's, that the

marquis, on all occasions, when my name was mentioned, expressed himself with great asperity.

The next evidences that were produced, were Samuel and Joseph Colquhoun, the boatmen, who rowed me on board the Vulture; the three militia-men, who captured Major Andre; and the ferry-men, who conveyed us from Stony to Verplank's Point.

The two boatmen corroborated the substance of what I had declared to General Washington, on my first arrest, with a number of other circumstances, which were of little or no consequence, excepting their acknowledging their total inability of returning Major Andre to the Vulture, after landing him at the Long Clove, for his conference with General Arnold, through the excessive fatigue they had undergone already, and from the change of the tide. I will only

here remark, that I was aware of this impracticability, when I left the Vulture, and had solicited the addition of two hands from the captain, which were refused, but from what motives I cannot determine, unless for the reasons I have already suggested, that there appeared no concert of design between the military and naval departments; and yet it has since appeared that the Vulture was stationed in the bay of Haverstraw purposely to promote the measures that were in agitation.

These two men delivered their evidence with a plainness, perspicuity, and firmness, that seemed to have much weight with the court-martial, who examined them with critical scrutiny. After the judge-advocate had finished the examination, they were the most material evidences that could be adduced. I will just mention the disgraceful means that were used to impeach the inte-

grity of the eldest Samuel Colquhoun, from which circumstance it will appear in what a precarious situation my life was placed.

There is now a person in this kingdom, who was informed by Samuel Colquhoun, that while I was on my trial, he was taken into a field by some of General Washington's officers, who read to him a paper purporting to be a declaration of the means which I had adopted, and which if he would attest against me on the trial, he should have a purse of gold, which was then offered to him, and a promise of support for life;—Colquhoun answered, that although he was a poor man, he could not swear falsely for money, which he should do if he attested the paper; and, if made rich by such means, he added, that he should be miserable for life.

The next evidence adduced was Colonel Hay, who accompanied me from his house

at Fish Kill to Robinson's house. when under the guard of Colonel Govion, the amount of which was, my declaration to him of the nature of my agency with General Arnold. His testimony differed very little in substance from the declaration made to General Washington, as related by the four first witnesses, General Knox, &c.

The next evidences were the ferrymen, who proved that I had conducted Major Andre across the posts of Stony and Verplank's Point, and mentioned some desultory conversation that had passed, but which, at this period, can be of no consequence; they, however, deposed, that there appeared to them an intimacy between Major Andre and myself, that was of a very long standing.

These evidences were followed by the three militia-men, who had stopped and

captured Major Andre, and with them were produced the papers which, they said, were found in Major Andre's boot: the names of these men were Paulding, Van Vert, and Williams.

Upon their being individually desired to depose what they knew, or could declare concerning me, they each said they had never seen me before; but upon its being suggested that my name was mentioned in some of the papers found upon Major Andre, the papers were read, and were to the following purpose:—

Artillery Orders, Sept. 5, 1780.

Estimate of the Force at West Point, and its Dependencies, Sept. 1780.

Estimate of Men to defend the Works at West Point, &c.

Return of Ordnance at West Point, Sept. 1780.

Remarks on the Works at West Point.

Copy of a State of Matters, laid before a Council of War, by his Excellency General Washington, held the 6th of Sept. 1780.

A letter, signed John Anderson, dated the 7th of September, 1780, to Colonel Sheldon, was also laid before the court-martial, which, the judge-advocate said, had been shewn to Major And- who acknowledged to have written it, and which was as follows:—

"*New York, Sept.* 1, 1780.

"SIR,

"I am told my name is made known to you, and that I may hope your indulgence in permitting me to meet a friend near our posts. I will endeavour to obtain permission to go out with a flag, which is to be sent to Dobbs's Ferry, on Monday next, the 11th, when I shall be happy to meet Mr. G——. Should I not be allowed to

go, the officer, who is to command the escort, between whom and myself no distinction need be made, can speak on the affair; let me intreat you, Sir, to favour a matter so interesting to the parties concerned, and which is of so private a nature, that the public on neither side can be injured by it.

"I shall be happy, on my part, in doing any act of kindness to you in a family or property concern of a similar nature.

"I trust I shall not be detained; but should any old grudge be a cause for it, I should rather risk that, than neglect the business in question, or assume a mysterious character to carry on an innocent affair; and, as friends have advised, get your lines by stealth.

"I am, Sir, with all regard,
your most humble servant,
Col. Sheldon. JOHN ANDERSON."

In addition to the papers found on Major Andre, there was produced the pass, given to him by General Arnold, to go to the White Plains, (which was a distance about half way between Pine's Bridge and New York, and to proceed, if he thought fit, as far as New York.

There was also another paper, containing a list of a number of persons living in the vicinity of the posts of Stony and Verplank's Points; in this list my name was inserted, which was read to me, and I was called upon to declare for what purpose it was placed among the preceding inclosures? As I knew many of the persons mentioned, and that they were of very opposite political principles, I could give no decisive answer, and as it did not apply to me, I said I conceived none was necessary on my part, for no man was bound to say that legally which might condemn himself. I therefore left

the court-martial to place what construction they pleased on that paper, and, indeed, upon the whole of them, asserting at the time, that not being a military man, I knew nothing about their nature.

When Major Andre was under his trial before the board of general officers, these papers were produced against him, as appears from an extract of their proceedings, in a letter transmitted by General Washington to Congress, and afterwards published by them under the signature of Charles Thompson, their secretary, agreeably to their order.

It appears from these extracts, that when the above letter was read to Major Andre, he nobly avowed his being the author, as all stratagems in war are justifiable; but he delivered to the board these impressive sentiments,—"That this letter could be of no

force in the case in question, as it was written in New York, when he was under the orders of General Clinton, but that it tended to prove, that it was not his intention to come within our lines."

It may not be amiss here to exhibit the letter which Major Andre addressed to General Washington, from Salem, dated the 24th of September, 1780, after he was sent across the country in West Chester, and placed in Colonel Sheldon's care, from the custody of Colonel Jamison. This letter communicates his sentiments in a clear point of view, and is too interesting to be passed over in silence, it being totally repugnant to what the board of general officers mention as Major Andre's confession to them, on which they justify their sentence:

"SIR,

"What I have as yet said concerning

myself, was in the justifiable attempt to be extricated; I am too little accustomed to duplicity to have succeeded.

" I beg your excellency to be persuaded, that no alteration in the temper of my mind, or apprehension for my safety, induces me to the step of addressing you; but that it is to secure myself from an imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self-interest; a conduct incompatible with the principles that actuated me, as well as with my condition in life.

" It is to vindicate my fame I speak, and not to solicit security.

" The person in your possession is Major Andre, Adjutant-general of the British army.

" The influence of one commander, in

the army of his adversary, is an advantage taken in war. A correspondence for this purpose I held as confidential (in the present instance,) with his excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

" To favour it, I agreed to meet, upon ground not within the posts of either army, a person who was to give me intelligence; I came up in the Vulture sloop of war for this effect, and was fetched by the boat from the ship to the beach; being there I was told the approach of day would prevent my return, and that I must be concealed until the next night. I was in my regimentals, and had fairly risked my person.

" Against my stipulation, my intention, and without my knowledge before-hand, I was conducted within one of your posts. Your excellency may conceive my sentiments on this occasion, and will imagine

how much more I must have been affected by a refusal to re-conduct me back the next night as I had been brought; thus become a prisoner, I had to concert my escape; I quitted my uniform, and was passed another way in the night, without the American posts, to neutral ground; and being informed I was out of the reach of all armed parties, and left to proceed for New York, I was taken at Tarry Town by some volunteers.

" Thus, as I have had to relate, I was betrayed (being adjutant-general of the British army) into the vile condition of an enemy within your posts.

" Having avowed myself a British officer, I know nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true on the honour of an officer and a gentleman.

" The request I have to make to your ex-

cellency, and I am conscious I address myself well, is, that in any rigour policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonourable, as no motive could be mine, but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an impostor.

" Another request is, that I may be permitted to write an open letter to Sir Henry Clinton, and another to a friend for clothes and linen.

" I take the liberty to mention the condition of some gentlemen at Charleston, who, being either on parole, or under protection, were engaged in a conspiracy against us; though their situation is not similar, they are objects who may be sent in exchange for me, or are persons, whom the treatment I receive, may in some degree affect.

"It is no less, Sir, a confidence in the generosity of your mind, than on account of your superior station, that I have chosen to importune you with this letter.—I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,

"Your excellency's most obedient,
and most humble servant,

"*His Excellency* JOHN ANDRE,
Geo. Washington, &c." *Adjt. Gen.*"

I must here request the candid reader's peculiar attention to the manly, generous, and undisguised sentiments of this unfortunate British officer.

Here is an explicit avowal of his object, and the truly justifiable means which he pursued to obtain it,—justifiable in every sense, provided stratagems in war, by the law of belligerent nations, be admissible, and daily public accounts of military exploits prove the position.

I carried the flag from General Arnold to the Vulture, for any person to venture himself on shore. It was addressed "To Colonel Beverly Robinson, John Anderson, or whomsoever they might depute." This fact was attested by the two boatmen who rowed me on board the Vulture, and was the purport of the paper which I shewed to the court martial on my trial, in my own vindication, as being under the direction of General Arnold. On this point, when produced, they seemed to relax in their virulence against me; for, by the powers vested in general officers, commanding separate districts of sixty miles around their distinct commands, the citizen, as well as the soldier, was, as I mentioned before, amenable to all the penalties of martial law, by the order of Congress, who, in the exigency of affairs, even dispensed with defined constitutional principles, in the unalienable rights of citizenship. And yet this board of general of-

ficers, because there was at that time no aid to assist Major Andre, availing themselves of trespass on this common benefit, destroyed his life with impunity.

It is requisite to observe, that General Washington, speaking of the letter which I have just recited, in one that he wrote to Congress, dated September 25, 1780, upon the first discovery of Arnold's defection, expresses himself to this effect: after mentioning that he had returned from Hertford, to join his command at Robinson's house, he says,—" I arrived here yesterday, about twelve o'clock. Some hours previous to my arrival, Major-General Arnold went from his quarters, which were at this place, and, as it was supposed, over the river, to the garrison at West Point, whither I proceeded myself, in order to visit the posts. I found General Arnold had not been there during the day; and, on my return to his quarters,

he was still absent. In the mean time, a packet had arrived from Lieutenant-Colonel Jamison, announcing the capture of John Anderson, who was endeavouring to go to New York, with several interesting and important papers, all in the handwriting of General Arnold. This was accompanied by a letter from the prisoner, avowing himself to be Major John Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, *relating the manner of his capture, and endeavouring to shew he did not come under the description of a spy*. From these several circumstances, and information that the general seemed to be thrown into some degree of agitation, on receiving a letter a little before he went from his quarters, I was led to conclude immediately that he had heard of Major Andre's captivity, and that he would, if possible, escape to the enemy, and accordingly took such measures as appeared most probable to appre-

hend him, but he had embarked in a barge, and proceeded down the river under a flag, to the Vulture sloop of war, which lay some miles distant below Stony and Verplank's Point. He wrote me a letter after he got on board. Major Andre has not arrived yet, but I hope he is secure, and that he will be here to-morrow. I have been, and am taking precautions, which I hope will prove effectual, to prevent the important consequences, which this conduct on the part of General Arnold was intended to produce," &c.

It is apparent, by his letter to General Washington, that Major Andre did not consider himself in the character of a spy, for so General Washington understood the import of his sentiments; and when the hands that rowed me to the Vulture were pressed to return him, Major Andre himself, upon their mentioning that the ship would be

fired upon at day-break, said in reply, "*you can reach the ship, and be far enough, before that can happen, and the same flag that carried you to the ship, will make you safe on your return to General Arnold's command.*"

That Major Andre was under the protection of a flag, appears from General Arnold's letter to Sir Henry Clinton, dated New York, Sept. 26, 1780, of which the following is a copy:—

"SIR,

"IN answer to your excellency's message, respecting your adjutant-general Major Andre, and delivering my ideas of the reason why he is detained, being under my passports, I have the honour to inform you I apprehend a few hours must return Major Andre to your excellency's orders, as that officer is assuredly under the protection of

a flag of truce, sent by me to him, for the purpose of a conversation I requested to hold with him relating to myself, and which I wished to communicate to that officer or to your excellency.

"I commanded at the time at West Point, and had an undoubted right to send my flag of truce for Major Andre, who came to me under that protection; and having held my conversation with him, I delivered to him confidential papers in my own handwriting, to deliver to your excellency. Thinking it much properer he should return by land, I directed him to make use of the feigned name of John Anderson, under which he had, by my direction, come on shore, and gave him my passports for his safe return to your excellency; all which I had a right then to do, being in the actual service of America, under the orders of Ge-

neral Washington, and commanding general at West Point, and its dependencies.

"I have the honour to be,
your excellency's most obedient
and very humble servant,
"*His Excellency* B. ARNOLD."
Sir Henry Clinton."

In unison with the same sentiment, Colonel Beverly Robinson thus expressed himself in his letter to General Washington, dated "Vulture, off Sinsink, Sept, 25, 1780," and he saw the flag I brought on board:—

"SIR,

"I am this moment informed, that Major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army in America, is detained as a prisoner by the army under your command.

"It is therefore incumbent on me to inform you of the manner of his falling into

your hands:—He went up with a flag at the request of General Arnold, on public business with him, and had his permit to return by land to New York. Upon these circumstances, Major Andre cannot be detained by you, without the greatest violation of flags, and contrary to the customs and usage of all nations; and as I imagine you will see this in the same manner as I do, I must desire you will order him to be set at liberty. Every step Major Andre took, was by the advice and direction of General Arnold, even that of taking a feigned name, and, of course, not liable to answer for it.

"I am, Sir,

not forgetting our former acquaintance,

your very humble servant,

BEVERLEY ROBINSON,

Col. Roy. Americans."

"*His Excellency*

General Washington."

In consequence of these facts, and agreeably to the opinion of the most experienced officers in the garrison of New York, who deemed it consistent with the laws of nations, as established by the most eminent writers on the subject, Sir Henry Clinton addressed the following letter to General Washington, dated New York, September 26, 1780:—

"SIR,

Being informed that the King's adjutant-general in America has been stopped under Major-General Arnold's passports, and is detained a prisoner in your excellency's army, I have the honour to inform you, Sir, I permitted Major Andre to go to Major-General Arnold, at the particular request of that general officer. You will perceive, Sir, by the inclosed paper*, that a flag of

* N. B. This was General Arnold's letter above recited.

truce was sent to receive Major Andre, and passports granted for his return. I therefore cannot have a doubt but your excellency will immediately direct, that this officer has permission to return to my orders at New York.

" I have the honour to be,

your excellency's most obedient

and most humble servant,

" *His Excellency* H. CLINTON."

General Washington."

This letter was not answered by General Washington before the 30th of September, 1780, during which time, from the date of Sir Henry Clinton's letter, and General Washington's answer, the board of general officers were sitting in judgment upon Major Andre's case, as referred to them by Washington; and a number of letters was sent by Sir Henry Clinton and General Robertson; one of which, from the latter, as

it is explanatory of General Greene's conduct, and shews the determined system he meant to pursue after this silence, I think necessary to insert it. It is dated from the Greyhound schooner, flag of truce, Dobbs's Ferry, Oct. 2, 1780. It also shews that the friends of Major Andre were incessant in their endeavours to rescue him from his impending fate. The letter is addressed to General Washington:

"SIR,

"A note I have from General Greene leaves me in doubt if his memory had served him to relate with exactness the substance of the conversation, that had passed between him and myself, on the subject of Major Andre. On an affair of so much consequence to my friend, to the two armies, and humanity, I would leave no possibility of a misunderstanding, and therefore take the liberty to put in writing the substance of

what I said to General Greene. I offered to prove by the evidence of Colonel Robinson, and the officers of the Vulture, that Major Andre went on shore at General Arnold's desire, in a boat sent for him in a flag of truce; that he not only came on shore with the knowledge, and under the protection of the general who commanded in the district, but that he took no step while on shore, but by the direction of General Arnold, as will appear from the inclosed letter from him to your excellency. Under these circumstances I could not, and hoped you would not, consider Major Andre as a spy, for any improper phrase in his letter to you.

"The facts he relates correspond with the evidence I offer; but he admits a conclusion that does not follow. The change of clothes was ordered by General Arnold, under whose direction he necessarily was, while within his command.

"As General Greene and I did not agree in opinion, I wished that disinterested gentlemen, of knowledge of the laws of war and nations, might be asked their opinion on the subject, and mentioned Monsieur Knyphausen and General Rochambeau.

"I related that a captain had been delivered to Sir Henry Clinton as a spy, and he undoubtedly was such, but that it being signified to him that you was desirous the man should be exchanged, he ordered him to be exchanged.

"I wished that an intercourse of such civilities, as the rules of war admit of, might take off many of its horrors. I admitted that Major Andre had a great share of Sir Henry Clinton's esteem, and that he would be infinitely obliged by his liberation, and that, if he was permitted to return with me,

I would engage to have any person you would be pleased to name set at liberty.

"I added, that Sir Henry Clinton had never put to death any person for a breach of the rules of war, though he had, and now has, many in his power. Under the present circumstances, much good may arise from humanity; much ill from the want of it, if that could give any weight. I beg leave to add, that your favourable treatment of Major Andre would be a favour I should ever be intent to return to any you hold dear.

"My memory does not retain with the exactness I could wish, the words of the letter which General Greene shewed me, from Major Andre to your excellency: for Sir Henry Clinton's satisfaction, I beg you will order a copy of it to be sent to me at New York.

"I have the honour to be your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

"*His Excellency* J. ROBERTSON."
General Washington."

Notwithstanding this pathetic and affecting letter, to which no answer was given, because, through the still glowing and persecuting enmity of General Greene, it was delivered too late, the sentence of the board of general officers remained unreversed.

Major Andre, understanding that his fate was finally determined on, and being informed of the mode of his death, addressed the letter to General Washington which I have already inserted*.

This letter, however, was not answered;

* Vide Page 126.

but General Washington consulted the board of officers on the subject. Overcome with remorse and sorrow, mingled with esteem, they were all for granting this last request, until General Greene insisted that his crime was that of a common spy, and that the service and good of the American cause required the most exemplary punishment. This he urged with such vehemence as induced a compliance in the rest; for, said he, if he is shot, mankind will think there are circumstances in his case, which intitled him to notice and indulgence.

At length the awful period arrived; and on the morning of the 2d of October, this unhappy victim of the errors of others, was led out to the place of execution. As he passed along, the American army were astonished at the dignity of his deportment, and the manly firmness, and complacency of countenance, which spoke the serene com-

posure of his mind; a glow of sympathy pervaded the breast of the soldiers, and the tears of sensibility were visible in every eye. He bowed himself, with a smile, to all he knew in his confinement. When he approached the fatal spot, and beheld the preparations, he stopped, and paused, as if absorbed in reflection; then quickly turning to the officer next him, he said—"What! must I die in this manner?" Being told it was so ordered, he instantly said, "I am reconciled, and submit to my fate, but deplore the mode;—it will be but a momentary pang;" and with a calmness that, while it excited the admiration, melted the heart of every spectator, performed the last offices to himself. He then requested that all around him would bear witness to the world,—"THAT HE DIED LIKE A BRAVE MAN!" He perished universally esteemed and lamented; indeed, a general sorrow at his

fate pervaded all ranks of people through the continent of America.

As he passed the church where I was confined, while under trial, he asked the meaning of the crowd around it? and when told I was then upon my trial as an accomplice, he sighed, and said—" Poor man! *he knew nothing of the real business.*"

General Washington, in a letter to a friend, soon after the Major's execution, thus expresses himself:—

" Andre has met his fate, and with that fortitude which was expected from an accomplished man and a gallant officer; but I am mistaken if Arnold is not undergoing at this time the torments of a mental hell."

Even Major Andre's enemies, if it were

possible so amiable a character could have any, were as high in his applause, as the general mass were terrible in their execrations against General Arnold.

I cannot here omit some notice of the character given of Andre by Bushrod Washington, in the life of his relative, the general; for, as coming from an enemy, it ought to have a double effect to stamp the excellencies of the accomplished sufferer:—

"It would seem that art had been successfully employed in the embellishment of those fascinating qualities that nature had lavished on him. Possessed of a fine person and an excellent understanding, he had united the polish of a court, and the refinements given by education, to the heroism of a soldier. When youth, adorned with such rare accomplishments, is consigned prematurely to the grave, all our sensibilities

are roused, and for a moment human society seems to sustain a deprivation by the melancholy stroke."

Colonel Hamilton, who was aid-de-camp to General Washington, as I have already mentioned, and the same that was killed in a duel by Colonel Burr, vice-president of the United States, whose name has been so often mentioned in the public papers, and who was lately tried for treason by order of President Jefferson, in a letter written at that time, says—

"There was something singularly interesting in the character and fortunes of Andre. To an excellent understanding, well improved by education and travel, he united a peculiar elegance of mind and manners, and the advantage of a pleasing person. It is said he possessed a pretty taste for the fine arts, and had himself obtained some profici-

ency in poetry, music, and painting. His knowledge appeared without ostentation; his sentiments were elevated, and inspired esteem, as they had a softness that conciliated affection. His elocution was handsome; his address easy, polite and insinuating.

"By his merit he had acquired the unlimited confidence of his general, and was making rapid progress in military rank and reputation; but, in the height of his career, flushed with new hopes from the execution of a project the most beneficial to his party that could be devised, he is, at once, precipitated from the summit of prosperity, and sees all the expectations of his ambition blasted, and himself ruined.

"The character I have given of him is drawn partly from what I saw of him myself, and partly from the best information.

I am aware that a man of real merit is never seen in so true a light, as through the medium of adversity;—the clouds that surround him, are as so many shades, that set off his good qualities; misfortune cuts down little vanities that, in prosperous times, serve as so many spots in his virtues, and give a tone to humanity that makes his worth more amiable. His spectators, who enjoy a happier lot, are less prone to detract from it through envy, and are much disposed, through compassion, to give him the credit he deserves, and, perhaps, to magnify it."

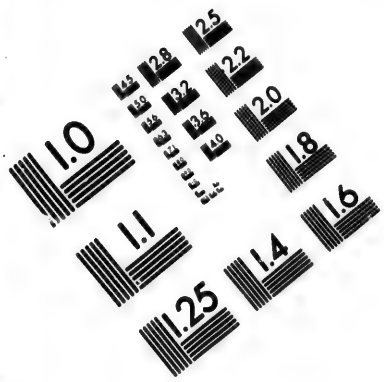
Bushrod Washington, in his life of the general, goes on to say:—

"The general-officers lamented the sentence, which the usages of war compelled them to pronounce; and, perhaps, on no occasion of his life, did the commander in

chief obey with more reluctance the stern mandates of duty and of policy: the sympathy excited among the American officers was as universal as it is unusual on such occasions; and proclaims alike the merit of him who suffered, and the humanity of those who countenanced the punishment."

If we trace the history of military heroism as far back as the annals of imperial Rome, or that of Britain in any stage of its highest glory, we cannot find a superior constellation of admirable virtues in any man, not even in the Mountjoys, Veres, and Cecils. Major Andre testified that an English officer never forgets what he owes to his country in every clime; the wreaths that adorned the brows of the Talbots, Salisburys, Mowbrays, and a hundred other illustrious names of former ages, were acquired by British valour in British officers; nor have the Edwards and Henrys who have swayed the





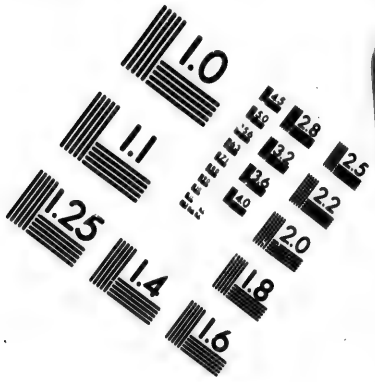
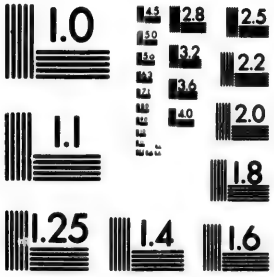
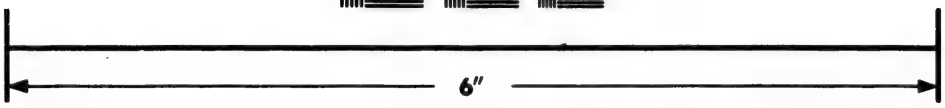
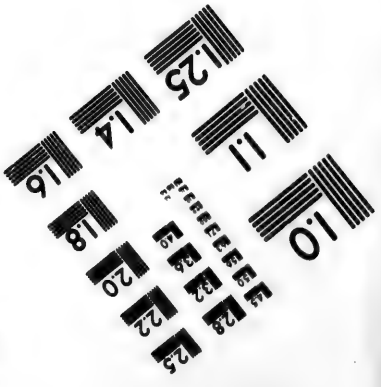


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)









Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

British sceptre, disdained the duties of subordinate rank; for example, Henry the Fifth in the glorious battle of Agincourt—and Edward the Third acquired, in the hostile field, those laurels that adorned him as an officer, and graced him as a monarch—and Major Andre, in the sacrifice he made of his life in the service of his sovereign, far surpassed the brave Greek, who exclaimed—"What toils do I undergo, O Athenians! that I may merit your approbation."

It was the courage, the virtue, and the generous contempt of ease, wealth, and danger, that gave English officers, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the highest lustre in the eyes of Europe and their countrymen: a distinction, that neither birth nor titles can bestow; while the public approbation was not confined to the barren praise of fame, but more often productive of durable

emolument; and it is the glory of some of the noblest families in England, that merit in the field was rewarded by beauty at the court; and both have concurred to transmit their distinguished honours to posterity with undiminished lustre.

The guardian and protector of the rights of Europe, the restorer of British liberty, King William the Third, was indebted not only for his throne, but his glory, to the virtue and courage of British officers; and where they commanded he was never betrayed or disappointed.

The same spirit exhibited itself in a more splendid and glorious manner in the reign of Queen Anne—Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, still lives unrivalled in history; and need we go farther than the present day, when the glorious achievements of the im-

mortal Nelson still animate each British breast?

A grateful nation will cherish the memory of the brave; and our gracious sovereign, the brightest ornament of whose reign has been to reward distinguished merit, has caused a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey, which, with the historic page both of England and America, will perpetuate the virtue and gallantry of Major Andre through ages yet unknown.

Description of the Monument in Westminster Abbey, for MAJOR JOHN ANDRE, *designed by Robert Adam, Esq. Architect, and executed in statuary Marble by Mr. P. M. Van Gelder.*

This monument is composed of a sarcophagus, elevated on a pedestal, upon the

British

emory
ereign,
gn has
it, has
West-
ric page
perpe-
r Andre

tminster
NDRE,
rchitect,
by Mr.

a sarco-
pon the



Robt. Adams Archt. - P.M.V. Gelder sculp. Shirt sculpt.

London. Published by Mathews & Leigh, 1808.

pannel of which is engraved the following inscription:—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
of
MAJOR JOHN ANDRE,
Who, raised by his Merit, at an early Period
of his Life, to the Rank of
ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE BRITISH FORCES
IN AMERICA,
and, employed in an important but hazardous Enterprise,
FELL A SACRIFICE
to his
Zeal for his King and Country,
on the 2d of October, 1780, aged 29,
universally beloved and esteemed by the Army
in which he served, and lamented even
by his Foes.
His gracious Sovereign
KING GEORGE III.
has caused this Monument to be erected.

On the front of the sarcophagus, General Washington is represented in his tent, at the moment when he had received the report of the court-martial held on Major Andre;

at the same time a flag of truce arrived from the British army, with a letter for General Washington to treat for the Major's life. But the fatal sentence being already passed, the flag was sent back without the hoped for clemency in his favour.

Major Andre received his condemnation with that fortitude and resolution which had always marked his character, and is represented going with unshaken spirit to meet his doom.

On the top of the sarcophagus, a figure of Britannia reclined, laments the premature fate of so gallant an officer. The British Lion too, seems instinctively to mourn his untimely death.

Ancient nor modern history does not exhibit an instance, where an officer fell so universally lamented by adversaries and

friends; an irrefragable proof of unsullied honour, and superior merit.

Eulogy cannot do sufficient justice to the deserts of this rarely-accomplished hero; and it must be some consolation to his surviving friends, that his and their foes drop the tear of sympathy, and mingle their sorrows at the same shrine, made sacred to virtue and truth.

Never can my memory cease to record the impassioned language of his countenance, and the energy with which he expressed his wish to be on board the Vulture, when viewing that ship from an upper window of my house; I knew not his inestimable merits: General Arnold, when he took my coat, said he was a young merchant, and from folly or pride had borrowed a British officer's coat from his acquaintance. No man's worth can be appreciated in the compass of a few

hours; my feelings were much exercised at Major Andre's distress, so strongly depictured in his countenance; I thought he could have been returned, by a flag from General Arnold, by any of the officers at Stony Point, who were at that time under his immediate command; and he was himsslf on the spot, on his way to West Point. The arrangement for his return by land was made between them the morning after Major Andre came on shore, when I was confined to my bed with the ague; and surely it was more consistent with propriety to employ a military man than a citizen; when there was no impediment or contending influence to have prevented General Arnold's placing Major Andre in a state of perfect safety in half an hour. There appears to have been a fatal infatuation throughout the whole of this transaction.

The original interview was to have been

held between General Arnold and Major Andre at Dobbs's ferry, on the east side of the river; the Vulture had been stationed there for the purpose some time previous to her moving up to Haverstraw Bay. General Arnold had made several attempts to go on board himself; on two occasions he was near the ship, and was fired upon by her, and the barge that conveyed him narrowly escaped the shot; this he declared to me on his return from one of these excursions. Being disappointed, however, on this account, the meditated interview was proposed to take place in another way. The letter from Major Andre, of the 7th Sept. 1780, to Colonel Sheldon, before recited, and which was laid before the board of general-officers, states, that there had been a correspondence between General Arnold and Major Andre, under the signatures of Gustavus and Anderson; and Colonel Sheldon, who had not heard of Anderson before,

when he inclosed this letter, is informed by General Arnold, in his answer, that he expected a person by that name to come from New York, for the purpose of bringing him intelligence. These letters were found among General Arnold's papers, after his flight from Robinson's house. General Arnold explains this business fully in his letter to General Washington, dated from New York, Oct. 1, 1780, an extract of which I here insert:—

"From your excellency's letter to Sir Henry Clinton, I find a board of general-officers have given it as their opinion, that Major Andre comes under the description of a spy; my good opinion of the candour and justice of those gentlemen leads me to believe, that if they had been fully acquainted with every circumstance respecting Major Andre, they would by no means have considered him in the light of a spy, or even

of a prisoner. In justice to him I think it my duty to declare, that he came from on board the Vulture, at my particular request, by a flag sent on purpose for him by Joshua Smith, Esq. who had permission to go to Dobbs's ferry to carry letters, and for other purposes not mentioned, and to return; Mr. Smith, at the same time, had my private directions to go on board the Vulture, and bring on shore Colonel Robinson, or Mr. John Anderson, which was the name I had requested Major Andre to assume; at the same time I desired Mr. Smith to inform him, that he should have my protection, and a safe passport to return in the same boat, as soon as our business was completed. As several accidents intervened to prevent his being sent on board, I gave him my passport to return by land. Major Andre came on shore in his uniform, (without disguise,) which, with much reluctance, at my particular and pressing instance, he exchanged for another coat. I furnished him

with a horse and saddle, and pointed out the rout by which he was to return; and, as commanding officer in the department, I had an undoubted right to transact all these matters, which, if wrong, Major Andre ought by no means to suffer for them.

From the above letter, as my name was confidentially mentioned by General Arnold, it would appear that I must have had some knowledge of the nature and extent of the objects meditated in this transaction, which, with the circumstance of lending my coat, were, with other collateral proofs, the strongest presumptions offered against me on my trial; on that account I was the more hardly pressed; yet General Arnold, in a postscript to a letter he addressed to General Washington, from on board the Vulture, the 25th of September, 1780, declares as follows:—

"N. B. In justice to the gentlemen of my family, Colonel Varick, and Major Franks,

I think myself in honour bound to declare, that they, as well as Joshua Smith, Esq. (who I know is suspected,) are totally ignorant of any transactions of mine, that they had reason to believe were injurious to the public."

Of this I shall take notice when I come to my defence.

Major Andre's remains were interred in an open field, belonging to a Mr. Mabie, in the vicinity.

The Greyhound schooner, flag of truce, which brought General Robertson's last letter to General Washington, dated on board the schooner on the 2d of October, the day Major Andre suffered, carried to New York the melancholy account of that event.

No language can describe the mingled sen-

sations of horror, grief, sympathy, and revenge, that agitated the whole garrison; a silent gloom overspread the general countenance; the whole royal army, and citizens of the first distinction, went into mourning. Sir Henry Clinton, (although stung with the deepest sorrow for the loss of so valuable an officer,) who best knew how to appreciate his merits, yet could not indulge that spirit of resentment, in exercising the dictates of passion or policy, by a retaliation on a number of Carolina prisoners, of the first distinction, who had forfeited their lives agreeable to the usage of war. In almost every instance, where humanity could be exercised, the lenity of Sir Henry Clinton was eminently conspicuous, both in civil and in military matters. I cannot forbear to mention a circumstance that occurred at New York, while under his command.:—

A man, on the island of New York, who

had cultivated a garden with great care and labour, finding that it was constantly robbed at night, either by citizens or soldiers, was determined to terrify the thief. Accordingly, when dusk, he placed himself under the shelter of some bushes;—he saw a man cross his fence, and in the very act of taking his property, when he immediately fired a gun, without ball or shot, to drive him away; this not having the desired effect, as he continued his depredations, he immediately discharged another musket, well loaded, and shot him dead on the spot. The alarm brought the neighbours together, and the man surrendered himself into the hands of justice. There being no courts erected for criminal causes, Sir Henry Clinton ordered that, as the malefactor was rich, he should pay a heavy fine to the relations of the deceased, who were poor: the general thought it a better compensation than to take away the man's life.

There are many instances which I could mention, of the benignity of Sir Henry Clinton; but the case of a Captain Robinson, who was proved to be a spy, and several others, all of whom were released at the desire of General Washington, shew that it was the invariable system of Sir Henry Clinton to prevent as much as possible the horrors of war.

The solemn tragedy of the unfortunate Major Andre being closed, I shall proceed to relate what occurred on my own trial, and the various hardships I encountered through this unhappy transaction: I shall also add such other matters of fact, as will tend to throw light on the objects of this publication.

It is worthy of remark, that Major Andre's awful fate did not in the least seem to abate the fury of my persecution by General

Washington. Notwithstanding the declarations of both Arnold and Andre, my guards were doubled, I was more closely watched, and I was assured daily that, from the additional evidences that were to be produced against me, I ought to prepare for the same fate as had befallen Major Andre.

No farther testimony was, however, offered at Tappan, or Orange Town; for the day after the sacrifice of Major Andre, the 3d of October, the American army broke up their encampment, and marched to Piramus; whether from an apprehension of being too near the British army, at that place no more than 20 miles, or that the country was sufficiently exhausted, I cannot pretend to determine; the former, however, was the general opinion, from the enraged state of the royal troops. I was marched under the provost guard, on foot, very weak and languid, although my horse

was ready to convey me, with one of my servants to attend me; but he was not permitted to go, and the horse was stolen that night. I was at first placed in a barn, with my guard, but the night being wet and cold, I was, through the intreaty of a Colonel Lutterlough, a perfect stranger, suffered to sit before the fire, in a good kitchen, attended by some of the guard.

During the night, being in much pain, arising from the fever and ague, which had not left me since my first arrest, one of the guard appeared to sympathise very sincerely with me, and, in a whisper, offered to aid me in effecting my escape, if I found myself able to undertake the fatigue, towards the morning; being in no disposition of mind or body to accept the offer, and fearing it a trap to deceive me, I declined the solicitation, and had reason afterwards to find my apprehensions true, for the fellow confessed

to a person of strict veracity, that he was employed to lay the temptation in my way.

At Piramus were a number of genteel families, who had taken refuge there from New York, and who, knowing myself and connections, earnestly importuned General Washington to permit their sending me some provisions; the same application was made at Tappan, by the family where the general resided, but the humane individuals received, at both places, a rude and an unfeeling denial.

The army did not long continue here, but proceeded to a place called Totowa Bridge, near the celebrated Falls of Pissaick. On the road I had another offer from two of my guard, that if I would make the attempt to escape at night, finding me better in health and spirits than I had been on the line of march, they would give me every assist-

ance. Being natives of that part of the country, they assured me that I should be sheltered by their friends, who, they asserted, were attached to the King's interest. These people, I believe, were sincere; and I knew that the far greater part of the inhabitants in the vicinity were loyalists, and had taken the oath of allegiance to the king in the autumn of 1776: having, however, suffered so much already, and knowing that no evidence could touch my life, unless by subornation, I was unwilling to incur any risks, and therefore declined their offer.

It was near this place that Colonel Baylor, of the Virginia cavalry, was surprised, and the greater part of his troops either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners. The inhabitants of this district, from their known attachment to the British interest, were accused of having piloted the royal troops to this attack, on account of their being plun-

dered of their property by the soldiery under Colonel Baylor's command. About midway between Paramus and Passaick Falls, at this place, my guard was relieved and doubled. The second night after leaving Paramus, I was placed under a strong guard at a public house, near Totowa Bridge; before this I was kept in the open air, and forced to lie on the ground, which Lord Stirling observing, as he rode by, mentioned the ill usage to General Washington, and requested, as a family friend, that I might be sheltered; this indulgence he reluctantly consented to. I was well guarded at this house, having a captain with two centinels without, and one within the room of my confinement. I was left to subsist in the best way I could; but this was not difficult, as I received supplies of cash from a source which I was then unacquainted with.

At length I was here again brought before

the court-martial, when the following witnesses were produced, viz. Colonel Lamb, Mr. Jonathan Laurence, Major-General Howe, Captains Gardner and Hutchins, and Commodore Bowen, with several others.

The general purport of their testimony was little more than presumptive evidence, except that of Colonel Lamb, who declared that he was present at General Arnold's table, when the subject of the flags was introduced in conversation; and he confirmed what I have already related on that subject.

Through the indisposition of one of the members of the court-martial, their sitting was postponed for several days. This circumstance, with the comfort of having a bed to rest on, and the privilege of procuring in the interim my own food, gave me fresh

spirits to encounter the hardships of my situation.

On the recovery of the member who was indisposed, the court-martial sat every day for about a fortnight, but proceeded very slow in the examination of their witnesses; it was conjectured by my friends that the delay was occasioned by the hope that some new matter of evidence would have arisen; and no efforts were wanting on the part of the prosecutor to bring all the testimony against me which he could procure.

During this period, I received a very consolatory message from my brother, the chief justice; my wife and family were permitted to see me, but not without some hesitation on the part of General Washington, who even reprehended Major-General Howe for his polite attention to them; the general, however, answered, that as she was a lady

of his acquaintance, and a native of Carolina, no power on earth should prevent him from discharging those duties, which humanity and politeness demanded. An elder brother of mine, in the profession of the law, was ordered from camp, until the court-martial had gone through their evidence.

The examination of witnesses was protracted to a fortnight after my detention at Totowa Bridge; and no farther evidence appearing, I was allowed to call such as might assist in my defence, while a short time was allowed for me to draw it up.

As my life was at stake, and the interests of all that were dear to me were involved in my fate, my family then consisting of a tender wife and two young children, my energies were exerted to the utmost, and in the space of forty-eight hours I presented a defence to the court-martial, which filled a

quire of paper, closely written; I read it to them, and a large part of the army, in the presence of a great concourse of the inhabitants. I should have no objection to present it to the public, but on considering the superior importance of the other parts of the narrative, I have no douht that the reader will prefer its being dispensed with. On delivering the papers to the judge-advocate I was ordered to withdraw.

The defence principally consisted in comments upon the judicial power before whom I was made amenable. The resolve of Congress which authorised my detention, was passed on the 27th of February, 1778; it states as follows,—"that whatever inhabitant of these states shall kill, or seize, or take, any loyal citizen or citizens thereof, and convey him or them to any place within the power of the enemy, or shall enter into any combination for such purpose, or at-

tempt to carry the same into execution, or hath assisted, or shall assist therein; or shall, by giving intelligence, acting as a guide, or in any other manner whatever, aid the enemy in the perpetration thereof, he shall suffer death by the judgment of a court-martial, as a traitor, assassin, or spy, if the offence be committed within seventy miles of the head-quarters of the grand or other armies of these states where a general officer commands."

I contended that this mere resolve of congress could not abolish a fundamental principle established in any of the civil constitutions of states in the union; that the exercise of the power vested by this resolution, deprived the subject of the right of trial by jury, the great bulwark of individual freedom; and that it was in direct contradiction to the declaration of the reasons which Con-

gress assign for their separation from the power of Great Britain.

I shewed from several counter-resolutions and solemn acts of congress, that this resolve was suited to the then special occasion, and was not meant to obtain a general influence, but was only at that time applicable to Pennsylvania, the British troops being in the possession of the capital of Philadelphia.

And here it will not be inappropriate to mention the sentiments of Dr. Gordon, who, in a letter to his friend, on the subject of the American revolution, after reciting the resolution, says, "This resolution has been introduced to shew you what a stretch of power congress have been guilty of: they have hereby suspended, in particular cases, the judicial authority of the Massachuset's state, which is not the seat

of war, and subjected certain criminals to a trial by court-martial, instead of leaving them to the laws of the state."—He goes on to exemplify as follows: "At Providence a general-officer commands a small army at the distance of forty-five miles from Boston."—The Doctor proceeds most justly to observe: "All bodies of fallible men possessed of, or claiming power, ought to be narrowly watched, or, from good or bad intentions, they will transgress the limits of their constitution, without a real necessity." This letter, reciting the resolve of congress, was dated from Boxbury, June 1, 1778.

It must appear strange to the world, that Congress should violate those rights of citizenship, for which their country was drenched in blood. THIS FLAGRANT INJUSTICE WILL MARK THE SAVAGE FEROCITY WITH WHICH THEIR GENERAL SOUGHT MY LIFE, (not sufficiently glutted with that

of the accomplished Andre,) *and ought to be a warning to posterity how they invest tyrants with any sort of power, that they can with impunity abuse.*

Without any one as my counsel I was compelled to enter on my defence, which I did with the more cheerfulness, from the candid and impartial manner in which the trial was conducted by the judge-advocate, and the court-martial in general, but more particularly the president, Colonel Henry Jackson, of the town of Boston, in the Massachuset's State.

In order to form a correct idea of the reasoning offered in my defence, it will be necessary here to repeat the charge, to shew the artful manner in which it was drawn up by the prosecutor, *General Washington himself:*

" You stand charged for aiding and assisting Benedict Arnold, late a major-general in

our service, in a combination with the enemy, for the purpose of taking, seizing, and killing such of the loyal citizens and soldiers as were in garrison at West Point and its dependencies."

I insisted, in my answer, upon the following general principles:—

1st. That General Arnold was actually a major-general in the American service at the very time I was engaged in the combination specified in the charge, and that I could not have had any agency without his sanction and direction; for General Arnold did not relinquish his commission until the 1st of October, 1780, the day previous to Major Andre's death, as will appear from his following letter to General Washington, when at New York:

"SIR,

"I take this opportunity to inform your

excellency, that I consider myself no longer acting under the commission of Congress, their last to me being among my papers at West Point; you, Sir, will make such use of it as you think proper.

"At the same time I beg leave to assure your excellency, that my attachment *to the true interests of my country is invariable*, and that I am actuated by the same principle which has ever been the governing rule of my conduct in this unhappy contest.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

B. ARNOLD."

The testimony of the two Colquhouns proved that General Arnold himself gave the instructions for us to go on board the Vulture; that he furnished the boat, directed the muffling the oars, offered the reward for their labour, and, in case of non-compliance,

threatened the punishment he was authorised to inflict.

2dly. That the charge, in the present instance, was a charge of treason against the United States; treason being a crime of the highest magnitude known in the law, the law demanded that it should be supported by the strongest testimony.

Under this head I proved that the constitution of the State of New York had confirmed all the acts of parliament, that had been in use by the colony of New York under the ancient government, previous to the declaration of independence in July, 1776, and, consequently, the act of parliament respecting treason, passed in the reign of Edward the Third, as it had heretofore been used and considered, was in full force, and applicable to the case in question.

This statute enacts, that each and every separate overt-act of treason shall be supported by the testimony of two witnesses, agreeably to the sacred scriptures, "By the mouth of two witnesses every word shall be established."

In contradiction of this statute, I proved that the whole of the evidence that had been offered, could amount to no more than presumptive evidence.

3dly. I urged as an established maxim, that in every charge or indictment for high crimes or misdemeanors, the knowledge of the party, charged with having committed the criminality, should be so stated in the charge or indictment, and made out by the most clear and conclusive testimony.

I demonstrated, from the particulars in the charge, that this was not the case, and

that not one of the witnesses had suggested the idea; not even Colonel Hamilton, who attempted it by some artful reasonings upon what I had said in my examination before General Washington, on my being first brought before him. Colonel Harrison declared, that I delivered my declaration to General Washington with firmness and perspicuity, and was unembarrassed until informed by the general, that Arnold had fled to the British standard; I then appeared, for a moment, astonished, it being the first intimation I had received of his flight. At that time I could scarcely believe General Washington's assertion, and frankly told him, that if there was any error or mismanagement, he must look to General Arnold, I having acted solely by his direction, and had uniformly done what I conceived to be for the best interest of America.

4thly. I averred, that in all courts of jus-

tice in particular, every man, however accused, was always presumed innocent until he was proved guilty; and that the most wise and rigid administrators of justice upon the bench, and otherwise, had invariably determined, that where the cause was doubtful, the scale of justice should preponderate in favour of the accused, upon the principle already established,—that it was better that ninety-nine criminals should pass unpunished, than that one innocent man should unjustly suffer.

5thly I proved, from the authority and usage of all courts of justice, that where the party's declaration or confession is brought as evidence against himself, that the whole must be taken together, and not abstractedly; as, if otherwise, through the art of the accuser, the most innocent man might be made to contradict and condemn himself; and—

6thly. And lastly, I corroborated these general principles by authorities founded in reason and in law; and the concurrent usage of civil policy in all Christian and enlightened nations.

After establishing these positions, I entered upon a critical examination of the whole evidence that had been offered, and clearly proved, that not one of the positions supported the charge exhibited against me, upon the slightest grounds of reason or equity.

I noticed many contradictions in the testimony of the Marquis de la Fayette, and the evidence of General Knox, as well as that of Colonels Harrison and Hamilton, and made particular remarks on the reasonings of the latter, who, as a minion of the prosecutor, appeared very desirous to prove me guilty.

As these were the principal evidences, and the whole of what was adduced on the part of the prosecution, of any material consequence, and these too merely of a circumstantial nature, I informed the court I might now safely rest on my defence.

But, lest any misconception should arise in a case wherein I was so deeply interested, I recapitulated the whole evidence,—with this solemn appeal—That what I had declared to General Washington was strictly true—what I had mentioned to my confidential friend, Colonel Hay—what I then declared to the court-martial—what I should continue to declare, through every period of my life—and in that solemn day, when an omniscient God should scrutinise my conduct!

Having finished my defence, I was remanded under guard, and conveyed to the

place of my confinement. Previous to my arrival, some person had mentioned to the woman of the house, in which I was imprisoned, that I was *condemned* by the court-martial, on which the good housewife, in a furious rage, refused me admittance. The reader may conceive that I was not a little shocked with this instance of vulgar unfeelingness; another place was therefore found for my reception, in which I waited in suspense for several days, but consoled myself with the reflection that I had discharged my duty, to the extent of my ability, for the benefit of my distressed family; and composed my mind to support with resignation and fortitude whatever might befal me.

During this confinement, I had a visit from two of the court-martial, (a Major and a Captain,) accompanied by the Judge-Advocate: the court-martial consisted of a Co-

lonel, Major, and twelve Captains, principally collected from the Connecticut line of the army, who, being General Arnold's countrymen, it was supposed, would be more enraged against me, if it had been proved that I was in his confederacy; and I must confess that, at the time, I considered them in no other light than a *packed* jury: but no gentlemen could have acted with more candour and liberality, after the principal evidences were taken.

The object of the Major's interview was to obtain from me an explanation of the reason why my name was inserted amongst those of the inhabitants, that were found upon Major Andre? This appeared to be a great stumbling-block to him, and which, as I have already observed, I could not remove; he left me, apparently much affected by my unhappy situation, and said, the

court-martial would soon determine on my case.

Some few days after, I had a visit from another of the court-martial, who, during the whole of my trial, sympathised much with me, and expressed himself greatly concerned, lest General Washington should direct a re-consideration of the sentence that had been passed.

Although these hints tended to re-animate my hopes, they were not satisfactory, for I knew the malevolence of the prosecutor against my family, and was convinced that after having gone such lengths illegally and unconstitutionally, he would not readily relinquish his revenge, while there was the least colour of justice to gratify it. I was informed that there were those about his person, who were inclined to cherish in his

mind sentiments prejudicial to my hopes; and, among them, the infamous Colonel Bull, whose notorious character has already been exposed. I depended greatly upon the open and unreserved assertions of General Greene, the principal confidant of General Washington, who freely gave his opinion, that if I was guilty, there was not sufficient testimony against me to touch my life; and I knew also that my nephew, Colonel William Livingston, was unwearied in his solicitations with the general to interest him in my behalf, and to whom General Greene owed considerable obligations.

Thus languishing under the various impressions of hope and fear, I seriously wished a termination to an existence that had become a burthen to me;—my days were imbittered by the thoughts of my afflicted family.—Even at this distance of time, my heart recoils at the recollection of those

scenes of horror that tortured my imagination. It was conjectured by some, that General Washington had transmitted my case to congress for ultimate direction; by others, that, as I had appealed to the civil authority, he applied to the executive power of the state to which I belonged. I was lost in conjecture,—when, on the morning of the 10th of November, I was roused from my stupor by an officer of the horse, who delivered a note to the officer of the guard, under whose custody I was, and then, turning to me, desired me to follow him immediately; I most cheerfully obeyed, for any situation was better than the miserable state of suspense which I had so long endured.

A troop of horse was recruiting at the door, and a led horse was brought to me, which I was commanded to mount. When we were at some distance from the house, I ventured to ask where we were

going? The officer sternly replied, I should soon see. Tortowa bridge lies in a valley, and on reaching the summit of the eastern hill, I could perceive that he had taken a circuitous road towards the Hudson River. I now indulged myself with the hope that perhaps, I might once more, see my little family. We rode silently on, followed by our guides with drawn swords; various colourings of different impressions that stole across my mind, respecting my future destiny, perplexed me much; when I was roused from my reverie, by a stroke upon my horse, and a thundering oath that if I did not press on, we should not arrive at our journey's end that night. I endeavoured to hasten the poor emaciated animal, but my efforts were unavailing, till the humane officer dismounted, and gave me one of his spurs; with this aid, we soon reached the skirts of Paramus, where we halted to refresh ourselves and horses, at a Dutchman's

tavern, for by that name almost all the inns are called; the landlord knew me, and was preparing to dress me a chicken, but my gruff companion swore in broken high-Dutch and English, that the peef and bork was good kanough for a damned dory. The landlord, however, soothed his choler, by offering him some cyder spirits, which instantly produced so wonderful an effect, that from a single draught, the swarthy gloom of his countenance assumed a milder aspect. Having dined, we instantly proceeded; my companion now became garrulous, and in his broken elocution, discovered that he was a Pennsylvanian soldier in the regiment of Young Losberg, who had deserted his colours. A few miles farther, we perceived the sign of a public house, and as I found the cyder spirit had so excellent an effect, I pressed him to take another libation to Bacchus, and to permit me to treat the troop, to which he

readily consented; but heavily did I re-enter the house, for it was here that the unfortunate Andre and myself had halted when under the charge of Major Talmadge, on our way to Tappan from West Point. My German commander now became quite fresh and lively, and disputed upon political subjects with the landlord, who told him he only differed from a *hog*, for want of bristles; to which my hero replied by calling him a Dory tog, (meaning a *Tory dog,)* and dat he was worser dan turncoad Arnold. I supplied him abundantly with the country nectar, which detained him until near dark; I did this designedly,—as I began to suspect it was his orders to convey me to West Point; in which conjecture I was not mistaken,—for when we had proceeded a few miles farther, he informed me his orders were to that effect. My next plan was to linger on the way as much as I possibly could, in order to make it late before

we could arrive at King's Ferry, in the hope of continuing on the west side of the river, and enjoying the happiness of seeing my family, which were then at my brother's, two miles and a half from the ferry, and whose house we were obliged to pass. In this scheme I was materially aided by the weariness of the poor beast on which I rode; and, from the double motive of pity to him, and the much stronger one of delaying our journey as much as possible, I made it, notwithstanding my companion's entreaties, quite late before we reached my brother's, at Haverstraw. Here I met Colonel Burr, who was on a visit, and who, to my inexpressible satisfaction, prevailed upon my commander to halt for the night. Most of the family had retired to bed, but, upon the unexpected news of my arrival, they soon rose, and the happiness of again beholding the beloved object of my heart, at once banished all my past sorrows. But my

joy was momentary—for the officer of my guard informed the family, he was ordered to proceed with me to West Point with all possible dispatch, and that whatever conversation we wished, must take place that night, as he was compelled to separate us by break of day. The better to secure me, he slept on a sofa in the same room with my family during the night, although Colonel Burr was my security, and carefully posted the guards around the doors and windows, giving them a countersign in case of alarm.

This was a distressing scene to my poor partner in sorrow, for though she bore her affliction with an exemplary patience, yet she was so overcome with this military parade as to be totally disqualified for much conversation, nor had I any to impart but of a nature too gloomy to afford her any comfort.

The morning soon came, and with it a heavy storm; Colonel Burr endeavoured to persuade the officer, from the weak and languid state I was in, to suffer me to remain until the tempest was abated, which he consented to do, if Colonel Burr would ask permission from Colonel James Livingston, at Verplank's Point, to whom I was to be sent. A messenger was accordingly dispatched for this purpose, who instantly returned with a message, that the request could not be granted, reprimanding the officer for his delay. Thus situated, I was compelled to leave my family in the utmost anxiety of mind. Being arrived at the ferry, I was placed in an open boat, and conveyed eighteen miles through a most violent storm, to Robinson's house, the first scene of my sorrow; I was detained here only till the storm abated, when I was sent across the river to the place where I was first confined, but apparently under a stronger guard

than before attended me. Upon my arrival here, a suspicion forcibly occurred to my mind, that as I was charged with confederating to deliver this post into the hands of the British army, it might be General Washington's design to execute the sentence of the court-martial at that place, as more exemplary to the garrison, from the crime I was charged with having committed. I experienced many inconveniences in this place, for as it was a garrison where there was no market, I could obtain no provisions. I therefore addressed a line to General Heath, from Massachuset's, who commanded here, and informed him that I was in a starving condition: he immediately gave directions to the commissary for rations, such as they were, and by his aid-de-camp, a Major Lyman, he informed me, that I was at liberty to write to my friends for whatever supplies I might want, previously submitting my letter to his inspection; this I readily did,

and was soon furnished with the articles that were requisite.

Availing myself of this condescension on the part of General Heath, I wrote again to my friends, to supply me with clothing, bedding, and other necessaries, not attainable in the garrison; I took the liberty to express myself very freely on the severity of Colonel James Livingston's conduct, in sending me, when in a violent fever, through so severe a storm, a harshness which no policy could warrant, and which was even repugnant to humanity. After a day's detention of my letter, I was indulged with his answer to the following effect,—" that in my situation, language less spirited would be more becoming; and that it would be as improper for him to transmit my letter, as it was unbecoming in me to write it." Being so often, and continuing so long under the apprehension of death, " *per fas aut nefas*,"

I had lost all fears of that event, and as a week had now elapsed, and my execution was still suspended, I began to alter my first opinion, and dismissed the apprehension that I was sent here for that purpose. Although unfortunate, I was not abject; I therefore wrote to the general a firm, decent, yet animated letter, requesting to know the cause of my being sent to West Point; informing him that, as a citizen, I had been illegally tried by a court-martial, which had reported my case to General Washington; I also desired to know the determination of that court-martial, if he was instructed or allowed by General Washington to afford me such information; inclosing at the same time a printed copy of the constitution, to justify the validity of my assertion.

Several days had now elapsed, and I had some indulgences allowed, which I had not heretofore received. This change in-

spired some hope of emancipation; when, contrary to my expectation, on the 18th of November, I was desired by a Captain Sheppard, of the New Jersey Continental troop, to prepare in an hour's time to follow him; and, within the time limited, he came, attended by his company, consisting of about fifty men. I marched with him, across the Highland Mountains, to a place called Smith's Clove, a valley, which took its name from my family, as possessing a greater part of the land it contained, as well as round its vicinity.

Captain Sheppard, perceiving the very infirm state to which I was reduced, when we arrived at the settlement, very humanely proposed, that if I could procure a horse, he would indulge me with riding; but as this accommodation could not be obtained at that place, I expressed a wish to be permitted to pass three miles out of the main

road, to a farm belonging to my family, where a brother of mine resided, as I had no doubt I should there succeed in procuring horses; to this he acceded; and mentioned, that the place of my destination was known only to the Sheriff of the County of Orange, at Goshen, about thirty miles from West Point.

The hospitality with which the captain and soldiers were treated on our arrival, and the unrestrained freedom they had taken with the strong cider of the country, threw them entirely off their guard, and the servant whom I had been allowed to have with me at West Point, having been dismissed, to return to my family at Haverstraw, had in his way passed on before me, and informed the tenants of the family estate of the situation in which I was placed; many of whom came to see me that night, and, in their zeal to serve me, were very solicitous that I

should avail myself of the opportunity which circumstances then presented me, to effect my escape. This district was celebrated for the attachment of the inhabitants in general to the British interest, who had frequently encouraged, and protected parties, from New York, in their mountainous recesses; and it was in this defile, that the celebrated Captain Moody, in May, 1781, intercepted an express from General Washington to congress, communicating the result of his interview with the commanders of the land and naval forces of France, and which disclosed to Sir Henry Clinton, the design of General Washington to attack the seat of the British power, New York; and enabled Sir Henry to take the necessary precautions, to prevent the combination, by strengthening the garrison; in withdrawing from Lord Cornwallis a part of the troops, then under his command at Williamsburg, in Virginia; and ordering his lordship to repass James River, and

retire to Portsmouth, when possessed of every advantage. I make this digression, as the importance of the passes of the Highlands was, and possibly may be again, the subject of military contemplation. I must be allowed to add, that almost all the communications between Canada and New York passed through this place, there being a regular connection of the King's friends, where they could take their stages during the whole war, in the greatest safety.

But to return to the narrative.—The debilitated state of my health would not, had I been inclined, have permitted me to accept the many offers of assistance to effect my escape; nor could I have conceived myself honourably justified in adopting a measure of that kind, after the humane and liberal manner in which I had been used by Captain Sheppard, who not only mitigated the severity of my situation, by every amiable

act of sympathy the next day, on the road to Goshen, by suffering me to ride there unguarded the greater part of the way; but when I arrived, and the sheriff, into whose hands he had been directed to deliver my *mittimus*, was preparing, in compliance with its command, to place me in the most safe and secure custody, he became my advocate, interceded in my behalf for a relaxation of his rigour, and declared the honourable manner in which I had regarded the confidence he had placed in me on the road.

The *mittimus*, under which I was committed, was signed by or William Williams, Gilbert Livingston, and Robert Harper, stiling themselves a committee of the commissioners for detecting conspiracies within the state of New York; this was as arbitrary an act of oppressive tyranny, and as unconstitutional, even upon their

own principles, as the military tribunal from which I appeared to be discharged.

A board of commissioners had been appointed, in the first stages of the war, for the purpose of detecting conspiracies; but after the constitution was framed, defining the liberties of the subject, and the legislature of the state had been convened, this board and all committees were abolished; being only tolerated until the regular government was organised. I was not in a situation, however, to resist this stretch of arbitrary power; and, not long after my new confinement, the grand jury of the county met in this place, it being the principal county town. Much art and industry were employed by the attorney-general, to induce the grand jury to find a bill of indictment against me; but the injustice and cruelty of attempting to place a man's life in danger twice for one and the same offence, was

spiritedly rejected by them; of this I was informed by several members who composed the grand jury, who reprobated the measure as illegal, unconstitutional, and barbarous. After this attempt, many who had been refused access to me, were now admitted; my family were allowed to visit me, and to administer those supplies, and consolations, which the state of my health rendered indispensably necessary, from the length of my confinement, and the vicissitudes I had undergone.

A short time after this, the jail was filled with those who professed themselves to be the King's friends; Tories, and those who were prisoners of war; felons, and characters of all colours and descriptions. This occasioned a special commission of oyer and terminer, or general jail delivery to be issued. The wretched state of the country operated only to increase its miseries, by

the infliction of new and unheard-of punishments. At the session of that court, another attempt was made with the grand jury, to persuade them to find a bill of indictment, but all their efforts were in vain; this grand jury, as well as their predecessors, were composed of the first people of the county, attached to the ancient government, and heartily wearied with the confusion and distractions of the unsettled state of public affairs.

The campaign of this year was now over, and never were congressional affairs in a more ruinous state. The general disposition of those who had been most active became lukewarm, and the disaffected to the emancipation of the empire by the measure of independence daily increased, from a variety of causes; and, among others, the introduction of French troops was not the least; for the remembrance of their cruelties in the

Canadian war, was not obliterated from the minds of the most intelligent observers, who regarded the re-possession of Canada by that power: others, who were strenuous advocates of Independence, were driven to greater exertions from the declaration of the French monarch,—that the situation of European affairs would require all the exertions which that nation could make, for its own preservation; and that all his strength was necessary to maintain the common cause, which might render America as much service at home as elsewhere; and congress was plainly informed, that after that campaign, they must expect from France no farther pecuniary, or military assistance. The address, also, of General Arnold to the inhabitants of America, after having abandoned the Republican cause, powerfully influenced the minds of the citizens; the facts it contained, in justification of his conduct, were unanswerable; and, as it

operated to create peculiar vengeance against those who were the king's friends, it had a singular effect in exasperating the leaders of opposition, against myself under the impression of my being charged as connected with him, in the unhappy transaction wherein Major Andre fell a sacrifice.

For the sake of elucidation, I will here insert this address.

"*New York, Oct.* 7, 1780.

"I should forfeit, even in my own opinion, the place I have so long held in your's, if I could be indifferent to your approbation, and silent on the motives which induced me to join the King's army.

"A very few words however, shall suffice on a subject so personal; for to the thousands who suffer under the tyranny of the usurpers in the revolted provinces, as well

as to the great multitude who have long wished for its subversion, this instance of my conduct can want no vindication; and as to that class of men who are criminally protracting the war, from sinister views, at the expense of the public interest, I prefer their enmity to their applause. I am, therefore, only concerned in this address, to explain myself to such of my countrymen as want abilities or opportunities, to detect the artifices by which they are duped.

"Having fought by your side when the love of our country animated our arms, I shall expect from your justice and candour, what your deceivers with more art and less honesty, will find inconsistent with their views to admit.

"When I quitted domestic happiness for the perils of the field, I conceived the rights of my country in danger, and that

duty and honour called me to her defence. A redress of grievances was my only object, and aim; however I acquiesced in a step which I thought precipitate; the acclamation of independence: to justify this measure, many plausible reasons were urged, which could no longer exist, when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace us as children, and grant the wished-for redress.

"And now that our worst enemies are in our bosom, I should change my principles if I conspired with their designs; yourselves being judges, was the war less just because our fellow subjects were our foes? You have felt the torture with which we have raised our arms against a brother.—God incline the guilty protractors of these unnatural dissensions to resign their ambition, and cease from their delusions in compassion to kindred blood.

"I anticipate your question, was not the war a defensive one, until the French joined in the combination? I answer that I thought so. You will add, was it not afterwards necessary till the separation of the British Empire was complete? By no means.—In contending for the welfare of my country, I am free to declare my opinion, that this end attained, all strife should have ceased.

"I lamented, therefore, the impolicy, tyranny, and injustice, which, with a sovereign contempt, the people of America, studiously neglected to take their collective sentiments on the British proposals of peace; and to negociate, under a suspension of arms, for an adjustment of differences; I lamented it as a dangerous sacrifice of the great interests of this country, to the partial views of a proud, ancient, and crafty foe. I had my suspicions of some imperfections in

the councils, on proposals prior to the commission of 1778, but having then less to do in the cabinet than the field, (I will not pronounce peremptorily as some may, and perhaps justly, that congress have exiled them from the public eye) I continued to be guided in the negligent confidence of a soldier. But the whole world saw, and all America confessed, that the overtures of the second commission, exceeded our wishes, and expectations; and if there was any suspicion of the national liberality, it arose from its excess.

Do any believe that we were really at that time, entangled by an alliance with France? Unfortunate delusion! They have been duped by a virtuous credulity, in the incautious moments of intemperate passion, to give up their felicity, to serve a nation wanting both the will and power to protect us; and aiming at the destruction both of

the mother country and the provinces. In the plainness of common sense, for I pretend not to casuistry, did the pretended treaty with the court of Versailles, amount to more than an overture to America? Certainly not: because no authority had been given by the people to conclude it, nor to this very hour have they authorised its ratification. The articles of confirmation remain still unsigned.

"In the firm persuasion therefore, that the private judgment of an individual citizen of this country, is as free from all conventional restraints since, as before, the insidious offers of France, I preferred those from Great Britain; thinking it infinitely wiser, and safer, to cast my confidence upon her justice and generosity, than trust a monarchy too feeble to establish your independency, so perilous to her distant dominions, the enemy of the protestant faith,

and fraudulently avowing an affection for the liberties of mankind, while she holds her native sons in vassalage and chains.

"I affect no disguise, and therefore frankly declare, that in these principles, I had determined to retain my arms and command, for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain; and in concerting the measures for a purpose in my opinion, as grateful, as it would have been beneficial to my country, I was only solicitous to accomplish an event of decisive importance, and to prevent as much as possible in the execution of it, the effusion of blood.

"With the highest satisfaction, I bear testimony to my old fellow soldiers, and citizens, that I find solid ground to rely upon the clemency of our sovereign, and abundant conviction, that it is the generous intention of Great Britain, not only to leave

the rights and privileges, of the colonies unimpaired, together with their perpetual exemption from taxation, but to superadd such farther benefits as may consist with the common prosperity of the empire; in short, I fought for much less than the parent country is willing to grant to her colonies, or such as they can be able to receive and enjoy.

"Some may think I continued in the struggle of the unhappy days too long, and others that I quitted it too soon.—To the first I reply, that I did not see with their eyes, nor perhaps had so favourable a situation to look from, and that by our common master I am willing to stand or fall. In behalf of the candid among the latter, some of whom I believe serve blindly, but honestly, in the band I have left, I pray God to give them all the light requisite to consult their own safety before it is too late:

and with respect to the herd of censurers, whos eenmity to me originates in their hatred to the principles by which I am now led to devote my life to the reunion of the British Empire, and as the best and only means to dry up the streams of misery that have deluged this country, they may be assured that conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, I shall treat their malice and calumnies with contempt and neglect.

B. ARNOLD.

Besides this address to the inhabitants at large, General Arnold issued a proclamation to his late brethren in arms, wherein he says "You are promised liberty, but is there an individual in the enjoyment of it, except your oppressors? Who among you dare speak, or write, what he thinks against the tyranny which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your persons, drags you forcibly to the field of battle, and is

daily deluging your country, with your blood? You are flattered with independance, as preferable to a redress of grievances; and to obtain that shadow you forego substantial happiness, and involve yourselves in all the wretchedness of poverty. The rapacity of your own rulers has already rendered you incapable of supporting the pride of character they taught you to aim at, and must, inevitably, shortly belong to one or other of these great powers which their folly and wickedness have drawn into the conflict. What is America now? a band of widows, orphans, and beggars; and can you, who have been soldiers in the continental army, can you, at this day want evidence that the funds of your country are exhausted, or that the managers have applied them to their own private use? In either case, you surely no longer continue in this service with honour, and advantage; you have hitherto been their supporters in

that cruelty, which, with an equal indifference to yours, as well as to the labour and blood of others, is devouring a nation that from the moment you quit their colours, will be redeemed from their tyranny.

The effect of the address and proclamation was various, They gave infinite satisfaction to the moderate, and those who were the advocates for peace, in the reunion of the empire, while they opened the eyes of the uninformed; yet on the other hand, they stimulated the advocates for independence, to the most violent exertion; and those who were the unhappy victims of their power, felt all the force and influence of their vengeance. Many matters of the most interesting nature, respecting the state of public concerns, and congress, were never, at any period of the war, involved in such an entangled labyrinth of embarrassments. Two parties agitated the congress,

the one adhered implicitly to the advice o General Washington, the other party were apprehensive of laying the foundation for a standing army, which they considered destructive to the liberties of a free people, and were unwilling to give a sanction to its influence, by encreasing the military force in the number already enlisted to serve during the war.

As with individuals, so political bodies, and states, when their affairs fall to the lowest ebb, they are either sunk into despondency, or are roused to more vigorous exertions; and there cannot be a more true test of this observation in communities, than when their public measures are stained with a spirit of bitterness. Under the influence of this principle, the legislature of the state of New York, passed an act converting the testimony which was necessary to convict in a charge of treason, to wit, by

two evidences, to each separate overt act: and by another clause, made the testimony in cases of felony sufficient to criminate in treason; and to suffer the act to operate as well to the past, as all future treasons that might be committed; contrary to ancient usage, and the established law of the land. The established principles upon which the Federal government acted in the constitution of general government of the United States, are as follows: and these articles of the constitution of America, were entered into by a convention of only nine of the states held at New York, and transmitted for their approbation, by General Washington who was president of this convention, and from which I shall make a few extracts.

ARTICLE I.

Section 9.—The privileges of the habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless

when in cases of rebellion, or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or expost facto law shall be passed.

ARTICLE III.

Section 1.—The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts, as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2.—The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law, and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties

made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, to all cases of admiralty maritime jurisdiction: to controversies to which the United States may be a party, to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, or between a state or citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, or other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before-mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to

law, and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state, where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed in any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

Section 3.—Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or confession in open court.

The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no at-

tainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

Article iv.

Section 1.—Full faith and credit, shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state; and the congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner, in which such acts, records, and preceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2.—The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall fly from justice, and shall be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be

removed to the state having jurisdiction of thecrime.

The congress shall have power to dispose and make all needful rules, and regulations, respecting the territory, or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution, shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twelfth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President.

I have taken the liberty of making the above extracts, as it plainly exhibits the in-

justice and asperity exercised on this occasion, against myself, and which was in some instances practised on others; an injustice so totally repugnant to the general principles from which the opposition to Great Britain first started, and to which they returned, as appears in the above-recited solemn acts, at the conclusion of the War. That which was law and the rule of right to-day, was renounced the succeeding, as policy dictated the application to the party interested on the occasion; indeed it was difficult to know what the law really was.

On the conclusion of this campaign, the importance of West Point became more the object of attention, and General Washington the better to guard this Gibraltar of America, as it was not inaptly termed, removed his head quarters to New Windsor, in the vicinity; so that from the window where I was confined, I had the daily mortification

to see the troop of horse which conveyed me from the camp of Totowa Bridge to Stony Point, pass and repass with some new unhappy victim to political rage, not without apprehension that some severe measures, in consequence of tampering with any new witnesses, might again place me under military tyranny. One morning as I was ruminating on my miserable situation, I was roused by my goal door being suddenly forced open, and I was challenged by the sheriff to know if I had any hand in the business of aiding the Tory prisoners to affect their escape from the dungeon? Alarmed at the question, and the information it communicated, I replied, That he well knew from my infirm state, it was impossible I could give them any assistance; this he granted, but said, in reply, that although I could render them no personal assistance, I might direct some of my agents to do it? adding, that he would take care,

I should have no further communication with any person, and that I might expect a military guard again very soon, to take charge of me. In this state of mental apprehension I was detained, for some time.

The circumstance here alluded to was as follows:—There were a number of persons who were taken in arms, amounting to some hundreds, who were going to join the King's troops in Canada; these were residents of the Western settlements, where the country being thinly inhabited, they had no jails, or, at least, none large and strong enough to contain the number of persons that were captured, and who were therefore brought to this place for greater security. Among them were some of the most daring and hardy people, belonging to Colonel Brand and Butler's corps of Whites and Indians; fifty of these were crowded in a small cell, which had a window grated with strong bars of

iron, and a centinel to watch it. Notwithstanding his vigilance, however, some implements were conveyed to the prisoners, who, in the night, by gentle degrees, picked away the mortar from the heavy foundation-stones, and in the course of one night, made an aperture large enough to admit a man of almost any size to pass through, which they all did, and effected their escape.

To this event I was presumed to be an accomplice, and was consequently watched with more severity, as well as deprived of those occasional indulgences to which I had been accustomed.

About this time the quarter sessions and county court sat, when I petitioned it for my discharge by proclamation, which was, heretofore, the law of the land, while, two courts having previously sat, I was clearly entitled to the prayer of the petition.

The answer to it, however, was, that I could not be heard, nor the prayer of the petition granted, until the direction of the commissioners of conspiracy had been obtained.

I will here beg leave to remark, that the warrant of my commitment to the sheriff, was for my safe custody, until discharged by due course of law.—Here, again, was another violation of the ancient system of law, and directly repugnant to the new constitution of the state.

Soon after this was another conspiracy found out, consisting of a number of persons, who were supposed to be sent from New York, to persuade the blacks to desert from their masters, in this part of the country; great numbers of whom, availing themselves of the British troops being in possession of Stony Point, which lay contiguous

to the mountains of the Highlands, had plundered their masters, sought refuge in that part, and afterwards gone to New York, where they were emancipated. A farmer, in the vicinity of the jail, having retaken one of these black renegadoes, who, through the channel described, was endeavouring to make himself as independent as his master, had confined him in it, in the hope of bringing him to a sense of his duty. He was (considering the few advantages he had had of improving his mind,) possessed of singular endowments; and had sufficient address to persuade his master, that if he would permit his hand-cuffs to be taken off, he would return home with him, and faithfully re-enter into his service. The master, who felt disposed to relax in his severity, ordered the irons to be removed; but wished to have some better proof of his sincerity than his mere word, and, therefore, still kept him in confinement, fearing, as he was a desperate

fellow, he might do him, or his family, some injury; for when re-taken, he was in company with another, who had left the famous blockhouse, near Fort Lee, in Bergon woods, and, in revenge for former ill usage, had privately passed through the wood, and shot his master.

This was the blockhouse so very unsuccessfully attacked by General Wayne, with the flower of the Continental troops, defended principally by negroes, deserters from their masters, and which was the subject of the severe satirical poem, called the "Cow Chace," written by the unfortunate Major Andre.

The black man being thus indulged by his master, by degrees had greater liberties granted him, preparatory to his being taken home; he was permitted to do menial offices for the jail-keeper, into whose confidence he

had insinuated himself, and thereby was entrusted with delivering the provisions to the prisoners, and was the person who provided those, I have mentioned, with the tools, by which they effected their escape from the dungeon.

Being among the number of unfortunate prisoners confined in that jail, I found this man, in the absence of my servant, very useful and attentive, in rendering me many little services, for which he would receive no remuneration, and which, being observed by the jailor, engendered a strong suspicion of my being a party in the plot; but this suspicion did not end here: it was industriously circulated that there were evidences who were prepared to prove it; and I was credibly informed that a deserter from the convention troops had actually sworn before a justice of the peace, that he overheard me advise this black man to make his escape as

soon as he could, and that I had offered him money to help him on his way to New York, as well as to give him directions where he might be secreted on the road, and procure a guide through the mountains.

Alarmed at these infamous designs, I determined to lose no time in contriving the means for my own security, by every opportunity that should offer. A few days after, another special court of oyer and terminer and general goal delivery was notified to sit, and the supreme court of judicature for the trial of causes, with an accompanying jurisdiction within a fortnight.

I therefore, sought the earliest opportunity to inform my wife of my determination to effect my escape: she did not long hesitate to come to me from Haverstraw and confirm me in my resolution.

There was a lady in the village who had given me assurances that if once I could find an opportunity to quit the jail, she would secure me until I could procure a guide to conduct me in safety to any place of security. This lady had long sympathized in my distresses; she had suffered much by the war, particularly on account of the loss of her husband, whose life had been most unjustly taken away for his allegiance to his sovereign. Mrs. Smith in consequence, informed her of my determination. Fortunately, a few days after, several persons came to see me, as well on business as from friendship, and they having interest with the deputy sheriff, persuaded him to suffer me to come out of my place of confinement, and sit with them in the open court room, in order to transact some business of a pecuniary nature. As the bottle was moving briskly round, I thought it a good opportunity to favour

my design; there were three in company; and two of them, who were rigid democrats, had become quite inebriated, while the other, my particular friend, was not much better. I affected to be in the same situation. It was now the evening of the 22^{d} of May and nearly dark; Mrs. Smith, who had that day been permitted to sit with me in my place of confinement, was anxiously waiting to see if I could avail myself of a favourable opportunity; she sent our servant to say she wished to speak to me, and would not detain me a moment. I apologised to my companions, who readily excused my absence, expecting my speedy return. When I came near the door of my prison, I suddenly turned, and, from a wink of my servant, went down a stair-case that was at the side of it, and without delay made to the outer door of the jail, which, not being bolted, I went out, and made all the haste I could, in my very weak state, to

a church-yard, not far distant, hoping to shelter myself behind the tomb-stones, until any search, that might take place, should be over; I had not reached the spot more than ten minutes, when I saw the jailor quietly light my companions out, and wish them a good night; they immediately mounted their horses, and rode gently away.

I was astonished that no search was made after me, but knowing the address of Mrs. Smith, I presumed she had exercised her best management; for, as soon as she was told by the servant of the course I had taken down the stairs, she sent him immediately to inform my companions, that I was too much disguised to rejoin them, and had laid down; they, therefore, quietly came to the door, wished her a good night, and then mentioned the state they left me in to the jailor, who went up, locked the jail-door, and supposed all was right.

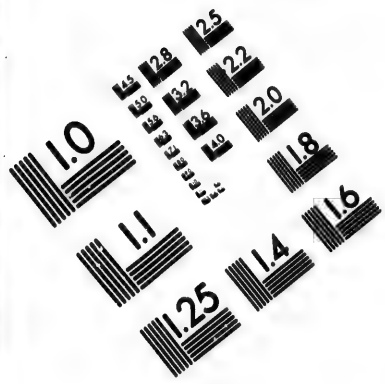
It now became dark,—and as the jail was fixed at the Point, where four roads met, I had to cross two of them to obtain the place of my appointment, and had nearly gained the second, when I heard the jail-door open, and shut very hard, and, soon after, the sound of persons, as if running with speed; I knew that, by crossing a fence, I should soon gain a brook, which, at that season, was generally full of water; fear aided my steps, and having reached the stream, I boldly plunged in, gained the opposite bank, and leaning my head against it, could clearly distinguish the sound of people passing the road I had just crossed; I continued in this state until after midnight, before I thought it prudent to move, for the court being to sit so soon, they generally brought to the town a great concourse of people, to be in readiness for their different avocations, preparatory to trials, &c. At length I proceeded to the house of my protectress, who,

with a sister, were in waiting for my reception, and who received me with tears of sympathy on seeing the wet and forlorn state I was in, without hat or shoes. They instantly warmed some strong cider with ginger for me; after this refreshment they provided me with a pair of blankets, and conducted me to a shed, as a place of security, where there was some straw, and advised me to take rest—but the balmy friend was a stranger to my tortured mind, from the anxieties which agitated me for the safety of my amiable wife, who, I knew, from the extreme delicacy of her mind and frame, would suffer in her state of confinement, and be solicitous for my safety. She did, indeed, undergo much alarm; but having a faithful servant with her, she kept him in conversation during the night, which greatly beguiled the time, and helped to mitigate the horrors of the place. When the jailor opened the door in the morning,

the servant was ready to take up her small trunk; my wife met him at the door, wished him a good morning, and, passing him with the servant, left him to look [illegible] the bed, which she had formed to h[illegible] appearance of a person lying in it. Before he had discovered that the bird was flown, she was out of the jail; and proceeding directly to the clergyman of the town, threw herself upon his protection. He assured her that, while under his roof, he would prevent her from receiving any injury, though he might not be her surety against insult from the ignorant rabble, nor could he say how far he might be implicated in law, but that he would exert himself to the utmost in her behalf, as a sincere friend to the family.

This clergyman was a humane and good man; he was an orthodox Calvinist, a warm advocate for the independence of America, and, being the only clergyman in the town,





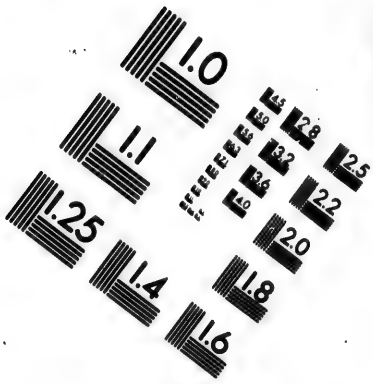
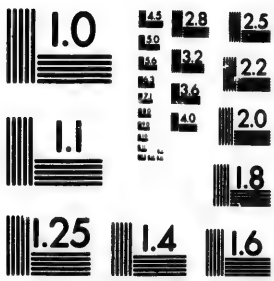
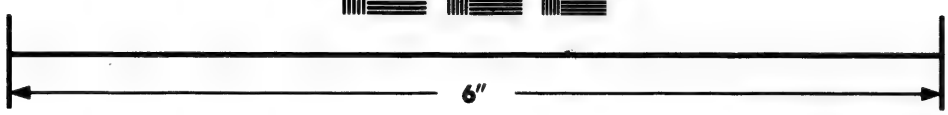
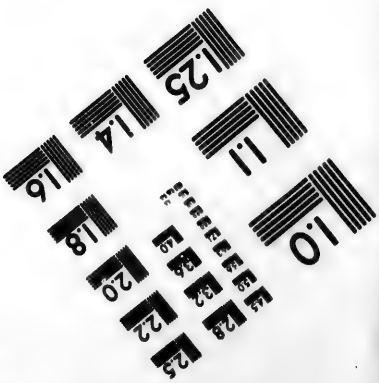


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)









Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503



he, for the two last reasons, possessed great influence, and was therefore better able to protect Mrs. Smith, than any other person she could have applied to in her dilemma.

She had scarcely taken refreshment, when she was followed by the sheriff. He had previously been to the inn, where, finding her carriage and horses, he seized them for confiscation; and her servant, the same that was in jail with her, informed him where his mistress was to be found, when all being secured, he came in quest of her. His first address, on entering the clergyman's house, was insolent in the highest degree; he was, however, checked by her venerable friend, and becoming more moderate, he declared that if she did not instantly inform him where her husband was, he would detain her until I was secured; that he would have me, dead or alive; that he had parties out on every road; and that those

who succeeded in my apprehension, would receive one hundred dollars for their trouble. Finding herself protected, Mrs. Smith boldly answered, that she had reason to believe I was by that time far out of his reach, that in what she had done she was well advised by the first counsel at law in the state, and defied the exercise of his power as a sheriff, in any thing he could or might do to her prejudice. In much passion he then left her, charging the clergyman not to suffer her departure until he returned, saying, that the attorney-general was shortly to be in the town of Goshen, and that he should take his advice on the subject.

The worthy clergyman, with the tenderest humanity, endeavoured to console Mrs. Smith in this embarrassed situation, and succeeded in persuading her to take some rest, which she had not long enjoyed, when she was disturbed by the sheriff, accom-

panied by the state's attorney; they exerted their combined rhetoric to persuade her to reveal the place of refuge I had sought, and what route I had taken; finding this of no effect to gain any information, they added threats, and declared, they would confine her in case of non-compliance; but all this proving ineffectual, they left her in the custody of the clergyman, in the full expectation of my apprehension.

Knowing that I was in good hands, and that no further aid could be rendered on her part, Mrs. Smith availing herself of the absence of the sheriff, and to rid herself of any further importunity, hired a coach, and proceeded to her family at Haverstraw.

The whole of this procedure was detailed to me the ensuing evening, to my no small satisfaction, that matters had so far terminated well; though my joy was not un-

mixed with pain at the reflection, that so amiable a woman had to encounter so much misery.

The shock of my first arrest, and near nine months imprisonment, together with the loss of almost all our property, affected Mrs. Smith to such a degree, as brought on a decline, which she never recovered; and she might truly be said to have died a martyr to grief.

During my residence in this jail, I had many offers to procure my enlargement, but there was no one to be trusted. One unfortunate prisoner, who endeavoured to escape, was betrayed by his guide, and carried before General Washington. Another, through the ignorance of his guide, mistaking his route, was taken upon the lines, and, as well as his conductor, was

brought back, tried, and sentenced to imprisonment during the war.

After Mrs. Smith's departure, the most diligent search was made to discover me. Parties were sent in different directions from the four roads that led from the jail; but on their return without success, it was concluded, I must be secreted in the town, among the King's friends, who were by far the most numerous and respectable of the inhabitants. On the evening of the third day, before my good protectress had any hint of the measure, a young lady came hastily to her, and informed her, that a few hours ago her father's house had been searched, and she had heard the party say, they should next take the road where my good friend lived; she instantly came to me with the intelligence, and advised my leaving the place where I was for another more secure,

which was a hollow between two stacks of chimnies; this I did not approve of, as the place had a suspicious appearance, and seemed to me calculated for a hiding-place. I therefore observed, that as it was near the evening, I would go out to the woods, and return when dark; I had scarcely mentioned my resolution, when the young lady called to her, and said the guards were very near the house,—when instantly snatching up one of my blankets, I stept lightly down the stairs, she following with the other blanket; we heard the tramp of a number of steps in the piazza;—I made immediately to the back-door, and crept under a small hen-coop; she hastily threw her blanket over it, —and, turning round, met the party coming in at the front-door. My protectress being a suspected person, from the reasons I have already mentioned, her house was searched with great care; and the young lady afterwards informed me, that in the very hole

where she wished me to secret myself, they thrust their bayonets and pikes; so that had I been there, I must, inevitably, have been put to death! The house being thoroughly searched, they proceeded to the barn, stables, and even the pig-sty; and passing the hen-coop, under which I was concealed, they were about to take off the blanket, when my protectress exclaimed, "For God's sake do not hurt my poor chickens;" on which they went into the house, and I could hear them distinctly charge her with knowing where I was; alarmed, lest her fears might overcome her fortitude, I immediately crept out, and made the best of my way to an adjoining wood, under the cover of darkness, which had commenced.

Having reached the wood, I was involved in doubt what course to take; to go back did not seem prudent, as on my return, some soldiers might be left as a guard; it

now began to rain, and fortunately a large hollow tree offered me a shelter from its rage. A variety of conflicting passions agitated my mind; for that very night a person was to come and bring me clothing, and take me part of my way to New York, upwards of eighty miles. To omit profiting by this chance, I knew, would be imprudent; and the person I expected had promised to assist me, and possessed my most unlimited confidence. At length it occurred to me that the lady, from whose house I had just escaped, had a relation about five miles distant: I knew him to be a kind, friendly man, to whom I could commit myself with safety. Thither, therefore, I determined to proceed; and when in the main road, I thought I could easily reach his house. I travelled all night; it rained during the whole time; and my feet being tender, from the distressing and unusual state in which I was placed, I made but little

progress, especially along a slaty and rocky country. When I had walked a considerable distance I halted, intending to wait for the dawn of day; this advancing slowly, I seated myself on a rock, faint, fatigued, and lacerated with briars, and passed my time in lamenting the hard fate which my civility to a stranger had intailed upon me.

On the approach of day I saw something like a house, and the appearance of light; I advanced towards it:—the reader will here again form some faint idea of my sensations, when I found the spot was near the gibbet, and the house I had discerned was the jail, from whence I had escaped in the dark. I had lost my road; and in my bewildered state of mind, had the whole night been wandering back again, over the same ground!! Afflicted, dismayed, and almost exhausted, I had no other alternative than

to return to the place from whence I had last escaped—and now gave up all for lost! It was, however, fortunate that I had not far to go, for day-light rapidly advanced; and I omitted no time in regaining the good woman's house, having the main road before me; and being equally fortunate in not meeting a single traveller, or my forlorn appearance must have attracted notice, and, perhaps, have led to a discovery.

I observed, on my approach, that there was light in the house, and once more assuming courage, fortified by hope, I ventured to tap gently at a window from whence the light appeared, and, in a minute, the door was opened for my reception. My female friend informed me, that the party, who had been there the preceding day, were not satisfied with their first search, but insisted on making another by candle-light, which they did, and even commanded her to open

every closet, chest, and trunk, declaring they had authority to confine her, unless she told them where I was,—and that one of them even went again to the chicken-coop, under which I had been concealed, and thrust his bayonet into various parts of it. She said it was well I overheard the conversation, and resolved to withdraw; and she consoled me by saying, I now had nothing to fear, as they had gone away perfectly satisfied, I mentioned my attempt to reach the residence of her relation for shelter, and I had the pleasure to learn that there I should have been safe; but it was providential that I missed my way, for a large party of Continental troops were encamped not far from his house, and I must have passed them before I could arrive at it.

Combining all these circumstances, which appeared so providential, I was led, independent of the fatigue I had just passed

through, to take some rest in my former birth, with renewed ground to encourage hope.

My friend had promised to be with me the following night, but when that came I was sorely disappointed. Through a chink in the place of my retreat, I could see the members of the court, judge, jury, and all, pass and repass; and, indeed, I was every moment in dread of being discovered, and brought back to my old quarters. In this situation I continued, however, five days, under the most painful apprehensions.

At length my guide arrived; he had been very prudently employed in reconnoitring the road, before he would venture to conduct me. He appointed the ensuing evening for my escape, and came punctually, well armed and mounted, with a change of dress for myself, a complete disguise. I

had no sooner equipped myself, than throwing a woman's cloak over me, he took me up behind him, on a strong horse:—we went ten miles that night, without any interruption, meeting many persons we both knew, with whom he conversed; but they, supposing me to be a woman, some relation of my friend's, did not direct their discourse to me; he was prepared, if they had done so, to tell them that the woman was deaf! The name of the place, where we halted, was Chester, and the man of the house was nicknamed the *whisperer*, from the circumstance of his speaking so loud in common conversation, as to be heard at a very great distance. If he had addressed me, I should have been reduced to an aukward dilemma; as my pretended deafness would have been no subterfuge. However, he took no notice of me, a neglect for which I felt much obligation.

From the whisperer's we proceeded through a part of the Highland Mountains, passing Sterling and Ringwood iron-works, to the confines of Pumpton Plains, to the house of a man who was one of the king's warmest friends, and among the Dutch inhabitants, famed for being double-jointed, as well as an ambidexter. We found the house crowded with Continental troops; my friend observing the crowd, went in, leaving me at a small distance; the landlord soon came out, and directed us to a small hovel, at the end of his farm, where he promised he would come, and bring us refreshment; he was not gone long, when he returned, and informed us we must change our route, for that the road we proposed going, across Pumpton Plains, was filled with troops going to and from camp, and advised my friend to go towards Paulshook, especially as he did not understand the Dutch language, the dialect spoken in

that part. This we thought most advisable; and my friend took his departure, leaving me in the ambidexter's confidence and protection.

The succeeding night, the ambidexter came to me with a good horse, and another for himself; we had then to pass a narrow defile, between two mountains; and he mentioned to me, that possibly we might at that place be challenged by a centinel, to whom he would answer, and that I might ride on briskly, there being no turning on the road, and he would soon overtake me. When we had gone about five miles, we were suddenly challenged—"Who comes there?" He answered, "Friends;" and rode up to the person. I gave my horse a free rein, and pressed on; soon after I heard the discharge of a musket, and was overtaken by ambidexter, who, passing, called to me to come on as fast as possible; he had not rode

a mile, when, following close, I saw him turn up on the left, through the woods, in a narrow path, whither I followed. We soon dismounted; and, after tying the horses to a tree in the valley, he led me through the roughest road imaginable, path intersecting path, and, from an eminence, shewed me, when day appeared, Tatowa Bridge: he then left me, to go and seek a friend, who would be mine also. It was near night before he returned, accompanied by two men, who were to see me safe into Ponter's Hook. They brought some provision, and a bottle of spirits, and observed, that they went weekly to New York with country produce, and requested to know what I would give them for their trouble? I shewed them six moidores, which, I said, was all I then had, but would make up any sum they thought right, when we came to New York. Having previously paid ambidexter, I took my leave of him. He told my guides in

low Dutch, which I understood, that he was stopped on the road by the centinel, who attempted to seize the bridle of his horse, saying, "that is Smith that has passed," upon which ambidexter jerked the horse's head aside, and gave the centinel a severe blow on the arm, and then left him, to join me. Ambidexter (whom I have seen since, as well as the two men, my new pilots,) recommended me to their special care, assuring them he knew me, and saying, they would be well paid, if they conveyed me safe. We lost no time in going down a steep hill, which brought us by a short cut to Totowa Bridge.

My reflections and sensations in passing this bridge, which I had so often crossed to and from my trial, were painful, from the various ideas that successively passed in my mind. One of the men, turning to the other, said in Dutch, "he may now think

himself safe, for the damned rebels don't often pass that bridge, except in numbers; for fear of accident, we will take the mountain-road." Here they stopped; and then turning to me, one of them said, "Friend, we must now give you some directions. As we should be suspected if three of us were seen together, I will go first, nearly out of sight; you follow next, but be sure you have me in view; if you hear me sing loud, you must jump out of the road into the bushes; then my partner, having his eye upon you, and seeing you do that, immediately runs to me, knowing that some person is coming forward; if they have seen but two persons on the road, and my partner supplies your place, the two persons are there still:—On the other hand, if he hears or sees any person coming after him, he sings, and you must do the same, go into the bushes, and he will run to supply your place; I stand still; and, on their coming,

the two persons seen are my [redacted] and myself."

Understanding them perfectly well, (though, perhaps, these cautionary arrangements may not be sufficiently clear to the reader,) we went on, and, in a few hours, reached Aquakinac, on the banks of the Passaic, or, as some call it, Second River, over which is built Totowa Bridge.

Here we entered the house of one of my pilots; and only in two instances was I obliged to go out of the road, and this was caused by persons whom we met, but from none that overtook us. I was put into a private room, where I had every thing that I could wish for.

At length the happy period arrived, when I was to take the last stage of my journey; and on the evening of the 4th of June, 1782,

my two pilots crossed this river in a small cedar canoe, or boat, to the opposite shore, which was a salt meadow, sometimes overflowed by the tide, which leaves a muddy slime, over which a light boat may easily be drawn. We passed a large tract of meadow, some miles in length, before we came to another river, called Hackinsack River, on the opposite shore of which, near the foot of Snake Hill, we discovered a party of men, who hailed us;—not answering, they fired several shot, but they fell far short of us. We now judged it prudent to hide the boat in the sedges, and retire, as they could not pass to us; this being done, we hid ourselves,—and, soon after, heard several vollies, appearing to us as if two parties had been attacking each other; this ceasing, we again ventured to the margin of the river, and observing no person on or near the opposite shore, we boldly launched our bark, knowing that no parties but British would

venture to stay there long in broad daylight; we crossed in safety, and soon reached the town of Bergen, where halting a few minutes for refreshment, we proceeded to Pryor's Mills, near Paulshook, and were informed by the man of the house, that owing to fresh orders that had been given by Sir Henry Clinton, no person would be permitted to enter New York by that post. Situated as I was, I determined to apply to the centinel; he detained me and the pilots until his relief came, when I wrote a note to the commanding officer, who was fortunately colonel of the same regiment that Major Andre belonged to. While detained here, Captain Moody came in with a captured mail of General Washington's dispatches; and, soon after, a serjeant and file arrived to carry us across the ferry. From my disguise, he would not believe me to be the person I avowed myself to be; but as the mail was immediately to go to New

York, he promised to report me to the commander in chief: his secretary, however, gave me directions where to find my brother, the chief-justice, he being intimate with the family; and, in a short time after, I was permitted to cross with Captain Moody, and was paraded before head-quarters. My brother was a near neighbour to Sir Henry Clinton, and his servant, seeing me, told my brother of my situation, who applied to Sir Henry in my behalf, and took me, to my no small joy, to his house.

In a few weeks after my arrival, to add to my wretchedness, my family, deprived of their all, were banished to New York. I continued with my brother for several months, endeavouring to obtain some of my own houses, and others belonging to the family estate, which Lieutenant-General Robertson, then being governor, put into my possession. I continued in the exercise

of my profession, until the evacuation of New York by the British troops, when, through the assistance of Sir Guy Carlton, now Lord Dorchester, I was enabled to obtain my passage to England in the Ann, transport, of Whitby, in Yorkshire, under convoy of the Guiana, frigate, (as appears from his lordship's order to Thomas Aston Coffin, Esq. the present commissary-general, then paymaster of contingencies at New York, from the Audit-Office, Somerset Place,) and landed at Falmouth, in twenty-one days, from New York, which I left on the 5th of November, 1783. This ship returned a part of the first division of auxiliary troops, commanded by Colonel Bezenrodt, who charged me with dispatches to the Right Honourable Lord North; and, on my arrival in London, I placed them in the hands of my friend and agent, Gray Elliott, Esq. then Keeper of Plantation Records, at Whitehall, who kindly procured accom-

modations for me in Surry-Street, in the Strand.

I had not long arrived, before I received an afflicting account of the death of my wife, who, from the first shock, upon my being arrested by order of Washington, had been daily declining in health, which increased in consequence of my compulsive departure at the end of the war, and which terminated her existence on the 1st of January, 1784, with a truly broken heart; leaving me, her disconsolate survivor, with two helpless children, after an intercourse of ten years' uninterrupted harmony—an exile, devoid of the soothing consolations of friendship. This last afflictive dispensation, added to the series of calamities I had heretofore endured, prostrated all the barriers philosophy had raised; melancholy had enveloped my mind, and I was sinking in the glooms of despair, viewing every object through the most ap-

palling medium; when, providentially, Sir Egerton Leigh, with whom I had the honour of an acquaintance in America, found my residence; by his polite and friendly assiduities, I was roused from a stupor, that had, for the time, destroyed all rational reflections. I was slowly recovering from this baneful reverie, when I was unexpectedly visited by General Arnold. The sudden intrusion of the man who had occasioned my miseries, excited sensations that I cannot describe, and which I leave to the suggestions of a candid world. The reception which he experienced from me, (as publicly mentioned by Captain Roorback, of General Delancey's regiment of New York Loyalists,) shortened the interview.

As I have often mentioned this general, whose conduct and character, whilst the memory of the American war exists, will be the subject of animadversion; I will here re-

late some circumstances in contradiction to the opinion generally entertained respecting him; not that I mean to advocate measures, which are alone justifiable from the secret motives which influenced their operations; but I wish that the candid reader may be enabled to form his own opinion from the contrast of the characters drawn.

In one of my first interviews with General Arnold, he ludicrously mentioned that he had been stiled by some of the American army a jockey and horse-dealer; this he denied to have been his original profession; but declared, he was brought up to the business of an apothecary, which Old Thunder-Rod, as the Americans call Doctor Franklin, (who derived such merit from experiments in electricity, collected from the hints of the immortal Sir Isaac Newton,) avers to be the fact; and that he was educated for the profession by Dr. Lothrop, of

Connecticut, a gentleman of eminence, and estimable character; who, for the fidelity the general displayed during his apprenticeship, retained him in his employ a considerable time afterwards, as a mark of his esteem; and, in remuneration for his diligent services, gave him a reward of £.500 sterling. Being of an active disposition, and detesting the languor of still life, he relinquished the business of an apothecary; and, having acquired a competent knowledge of navigation, he embarked his property in the trade usually carried on between the continent and the West Indian islands, reciprocally beneficial to each, with various loss and gain, until the disturbances between Great Britain in 1774, when he stepped forward the champion of his country's cause; and for the zeal he discovered for its prosperity, was appointed a colonel by the legisiature of that government. Political disputes increasing, daily afforded, on the appeal to

arms as the arbiter, full exercise for the natural activity of his disposition; and early in the succeeding year, he commanded a detachment of militia, to prevent the irruptions of the Canadians and Savages on Lake Champlain. His indefatigable exertions secured his success; in consideration of which Congress confirmed the appointment he received from the provincial authority. The intrepidity of his genius induced that body to invest him with the separate command of a corps of troops, amounting to twelve hundred choice men, with whom he was directed, on the 13th of November, 1775, to cross the Wilderness, from the camp at Cambridge, for the invasion of Canada; and, notwithstanding the most fatiguing hardships, as I have already mentioned, he arrived before the walls of Quebec on the 13th of November, regardless of the approaching inclement season, and summoned the town to surrender, with which

it would certainly have complied, from the lukewarmness of the Canadians in general, had not this requisition been incompatible with the duty and invincible firmness of the brave and experienced officer who commanded the garrison; and on the junction of General Montgomery, on the 15th of December following, the siege was commenced with spirit, and subsequently Quebec was stormed; the issue of which, from the gallant and judicious defence made by the besieged, is well known;—Montgomery was killed—Arnold wounded, and most of the besiegers made prisoners of war; the clemency they received from Lord Dorchester—the lenient treatment, and the affecting advice, (instead of warlike rigour) he administered to the prisoners, on dismissing them peaceably to their respective homes, had the most conciliating effect, at once coinciding with the humanity, as well as bravery, of their distinguished conqueror.

On the march of General Montgomery to join General Arnold, or by the detachment under Colonel Ethan Allen, the unfortunate Major Andre was captured, and sent as a prisoner, with his brother-officers, through a large extent of the American continent, to Trenton, in New Jersey. I remember having seen him at the hospitable table of Colonel Hay, at Haverstraw, whose urbanity was dispensed to all genteel travellers, but I did not recollect the least trace of his countenance when I received him from the Vulture sloop of war. This event enabled him to form some idea of the genius, temper, and political disposition of the American people; and it was in this situation that he made the reference to his amiable friend's picture, which he stiled his talisman.

But I must return from this digression to the character of General Arnold.—He assured me he was descended from a gentle-

man of the same name, who was one of the first Governors of Rhode Island, but his immediate progenitor, by occasion of many losses in trade, failed, some time before his death, leaving the general to the wide world friendless and unprotected. Determined to be the *faber suæ fortunæ*, he lost no opportunity that offered; and when they did not take notice of him, he courted them by all honest exertions to advance his fortunes, holding in view the poet's sentiment:

> Honour and fame from no condition rise,
> Act well your part—there all the honour lies.

The ingratitude and injustice of his countrymen, and the illiberal treatment his lady received from Mr. Read, the Governor of Pennsylvania, were among the reasons he assigned, in his declaration, for his defection, and which he deemed sufficient to alienate his attachment from a cause wherein the private interest of a few leading individuals seemed to him to be more the ob-

ject contemplated, in protracting the war, (after the overtures of the peace-commissioners of 1778 had done away all obstacles to a permanent re-union of the empire, upon the broad basis of reciprocal benefits,) than the good of his fellow-citizens, whom he saw plunged into the most forlorn misery, from which nothing but the relenting clemency and generosity of the British government could extricate them—and not the perfidious allurements of their impotent ally, who looked with a covetous eye to the re-possession of their former territory in Canada, from which they were averted by the vigilance of Washington, who penetrated their designs, and wisely avoided miseries similar to those he experienced in Braddock's defeat.

Mankind differ as much in their political as religious sentiments. It is a proof of an ingenuous mind to retract from error, the

moment it is discovered. These sentiments General Arnold avowed as the cause of his change of views, and not the *auri sacra fames*, with which, it is said, Doctor Franklin charged him;—but he, likewise, has met with his political enemies, who assert that, with his coadjutor, Tom Paine, he disseminated those principles which deluged his country in blood. The philosopher, as well as the soldier, has paid the debt to Nature—peace to their manes! Political prejudices are, of all others, the most difficult to be removed. There never was a contest that admitted more pretext for diversity of opinion:—General Arnold's conduct is reprobated by some, and as strongly advocated by others; not standing upon the same eminence of information, all men do not see with equal light;—both friends and enemies, however, concur in doing justice to General Arnold's merit, as a man of rare valour, and a gallant officer.

To delineate the character of the unfortunate Major Andre—to view him in the vivacity of his fancy, the elegance of his taste, or the powers of his mind, in all the rich felicities of his genius, as a literary character, or his military capacity, in both maturing to the highest eclat, and to render tributary justice to his worth, requires talents beyond common eulogy. The virtuous and liberal contemplate, with intellectual luxury, the meritorious dispositions of their fellow-citizens; the principles of benevolence they possessed, expand and elevate our ideas of the human character,—and, while we analise their superior excellence, stimulate to copy their bright example, and direct our views to the Author of all that is estimable in man.

The portrait of Major Andre presents the image of his mind, and is the index of the goodness of his heart. To those who knew

him, the animation of his countenance, the impressive force of his genius, the gracefulness of his manner, the enlivening intelligence of his converse, is at once expressed and felt—he was rapid in his penetration, and expansive in his comprehension—his intellectual resources, from the clearness of his conception and arrangement, were promptly at command; hence, with a natural desire to please, the attractions of his personal accomplishments gave a zest and charm to his conversation, and soon converted simple esteem into the dignity of friendship—urbanity, in its highest extent, was a qualification of the least intrinsic value he possessed—the scrupulous rectitude of his mind, the truth and inviolable integrity of his heart, invariably governed by reason, and sanctioned by religion, regulated his principles of honour, and were conspicuous in the habits of his life—his social conviviality was uncontaminated by

intemperance, and levity or indecorum at no time sullied his wit or gaiety—his extensive knowledge of human nature, and command of himself, qualified him as the soothing companion of the afflicted, to be serious with the elderly, sprightly with the gay, and facetious with the juvenile—by his learning he softened the austerities of philosophy; and his taste in selecting his amusements, gave an additional pleasure to their enjoyment—his beneficence was enhanced by the prompt anticipation of the favour he meant to confer; and his denials were mitigated by a suavity of manner, that almost seemed a compliance of favour—to him might justly be applied the reputation given of Agricola by Tacitus,—"*Quicquid ex Agricola amavimus, quicquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum.*

Whatever in Andre was the object of our

love and admiration, remains; and will remain in the hearts of all who knew him. With such qualifications, added to the brilliancy of his military talents, which invited the esteem and patronage of Sir Henry Clinton, (whose happiness was ever to reward merit,) who could be surprised that his virtues, and the gallant spirit with which he terminated his career, should deserve the monument erected to his memory—imperiously extract the involuntary tear—and demand the panegyric of an enemy?—Or even inspire the elegant pencil of England's favourite Muse, to celebrate the deathless name of a British officer, whose prowess and talents will live in the memory of the brave, the generous, and the good, as long as the historic page shall record his unsullied fame?

Britons know how to judge, appreciate, and grant the laureled meed, to decorate the

brow of genuine worth; nor will there ever be wanting among the gallant race those who will cherish the memory, imitate the virtues, and sprinkle with the tributary tear the ashes of departed merit.—" *Non canemus surdis respondent et omniæ silviæ.*

I shall finally conclude this narrative with the following documents, which will satisfy many individuals to whom I am unknown, as to the sense which the Government at that time entertained of my unmerited sufferings on their account, and which will also completely refute the gross calumny which, at the commencement of this volume, I quoted from a public magazine:—

Certificates by Order of the Honourable Board of Commissioners for Auditing Public Accounts.

I hereby certify, that upon the examina-

tion of the vouchers belonging to the declared account of Colonel Roger Morris, Inspector of Claims of Refugees at New York, it appears that Joshua H. Smith, Esq. was allowed a Dollar *per diem*, pursuant to the orders of their Excellencies Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. and Sir Guy Carlton, K. B. commanders in chief in North America, in the years 1781, and 1782.

Audit-Office, Somerset-Place, Oct. 26. 1807. J. L. MALLET, *Sec.*

And it also appears in the declared account of Thomas Aston Coffin, Esq. as Paymaster of Contingencies at New York and Halifax, from the 1st of February, 1783, to the 24th of April, 1784, that Joshua H. Smith, Esq. was allowed at the rate of Seven Shillings *per diem*, from the 1st of January, to the 31st of March, 1783; and from

thence to the 31st of December following; which last payment was to enable him to return to England, by order of the Commander in Chief, Sir Guy Carlton, K. B.

Audit-Office, Somerset-Place, Jan. 19, 1808. I. L. MALLET, *Sec.*

CONCLUSION OF THE NARRATIVE.

A

MONODY

ON THE DEATH OF

MAJOR JOHN ANDRE,

BY MISS SEWARD.

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

SIR HENRY CLINTON,

KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

SIR

WITH the zeal of a religious enthusiast to his murdered saint, the author of this mournful eulogium consecrates it to the memory of Major Andre, who fell a martyr in the cause of his king and country, with the firm intrepidity of a Roman, and the amiable resignation of a Christian hero.

Distant awe and reverence prevent her offering these effusions of gratitude to the beneficent and royal patron of the Andre family. May Mr. Andre's illustrious general, the guardian of his injured honour, his conspicuous and personal friend, deign

to accept them from One, who was once happy in the friendship of the GLORIOUS SUFFERER.

Your Excellency's

most obedient humble servant,

ANNA SEWARD.

TO MISS SEWARD.

IMPROMPTU.

AS Britain mourn'd, with all a mother's pain,
Two sons, two gallant sons, ignobly slain!
Mild Cook, by savage fury robb'd of breath,
And martial Andre doom'd to baser death!
The Goddess, plung'd in grief too vast to speak,
Hid in her robe her tear-disfigur'd cheek.

The sacred Nine, with sympathetic care,
Survey'd the noble mourner's dumb despair;
While from their choir the sighs of pity broke,
The Muse of Elegy thus warmly spoke:
" Take injur'd parent, all we can bestow,
" To sooth thy heart, and mitigate thy woe!"

Speaking, to earth the kind enthusiast came,
And veil'd her heavenly power with Seward's name:
And that no vulgar eye might pierce the truth,
Proclaim'd herself the friend of Andre's youth.

In that fair semblance, with such plaintive fire,
She struck the chords of her pathetic lyre:
The weeping Goddess owns the blest relief,
And fondly listens, with subsiding grief;
Her loveliest daughters lend a willing ear,
Honouring the latent Muse with many a tear.
Her bravest sons, who in their every vein
Feel the strong pathos of the magic strain,
Bless the inchanting lyre, by glory strung,
Envying the dead, who are so sweetly sung.

W. HAYLEY.

MONODY

ON

MAJOR ANDRE.

LOUD howls the storm! the vex'd Atlantic roars!
Thy Genius, Britain, wanders on its shores!
Hears cries of horror wafted from afar,
And groans of Anguish, mid the shrieks of War!
Hears the deep curses of the Great and Brave,
Sigh in the wind, and murmur on the wave!
O'er his damp brow the sable crape he binds,
And throws his * victor-garland to the winds;
Bids haggard Winter, in her drear sojourn,
Tear the dim foliage from her drizzling urn;
With sickly yew unfragrant cypress twine,
And hang the dusky wreath round Honour's shrine.
Bids steel-clad Valour chace his dove-like Bride,
Enfeebling Mercy, from his awful side;

* *Victor-garland*—Alluding to the conquest by Lord Cornwallis.

Where long she sat, and check'd the ardent rein,
As whirl'd his chariot o'er th' embattled plain;
Gilded with sunny smile her April tear,
Rais'd her white arm and stay'd th' uplifted spear,
Then, in her place, bids Vengeance mount the car,
And glut with gore th' insatiate Dogs of War!—
With one pale hand the * bloody scroll he rears,
And bids his Nations blot it with their tears;
And one, extended o'er th' Atlantic wave,
Points to his ANDRE's ignominious grave!

And shall the Muse, that marks the solemn scene,
" As busy Fancy lifts the veil between,"
Refuse to mingle in the awful train,
Nor breathe with glowing zeal the votive strain?
From public fame shall admiration fire
The boldest numbers of her raptur'd lyre
To hymn a Stranger?—and with ardent lay
Lead the wild Mourner round her C[illegible]morai,
While ANDRE fades upon his dreary bier,
And † JULIA's only trib[illegible] her tear?

* *Bloody scroll.*—The Court-Martial decree, signed at Tappan, for Major Andre's execution.

† *Julia.*—The name by which Mr. Andre address'd the Author in his correspondence with her.

Dear, lovely Youth! whose gentle virtues stole
Thro' Friendship's soft'ning medium on her soul!
Ah no!—with every strong resistless plea,
Rise the recorded days she pass'd with thee,
While each dim shadow of o'erwhelming years,
With Eagle-glance reverted, Memory clears.

Belov'd Companion of the fairest hours
That rose for her in Joy's resplendent bow'rs,
How gaily shone on thy bright Morn of Youth
The Star of Pleasure, and the Sun of Truth!
Full from their source descended on thy mind
Each gen'rous virtue, and each taste refin'd.
Young Genius led thee to his varied fane.
Bade thee ask *all his gifts, nor ask in vain;
Hence novel thoughts, in ev'ry lustre drest
Of pointed wit, that diamond of the breast;
Hence glow'd thy fancy with poetic ray,
Hence music warbled in thy sprightly lay;

* *All his gifts.*—Mr. Andre had conspicuous talents for Poetry, Music, and Painting. The Newspapers mentioned a satiric poem of his upon the Americans, which was supposed to have stimulated their barbarity towards him.——Of his wit and vivacity, the letters subjoined to this work afford ample proof. They were addressed to the author by Mr. Andre when he was a youth of eighteen.

And hence thy pencil, with his colours warm,
Caught ev'ry grace, and copied ev'ry charm,
Whose transient glories beam on Beauty's cheek,
And bid the glowing Ivory breathe and speak.
Blest pencil! by kind Fate ordain'd to save
HONORA's semblance from * her early grave,
Oh! while on † JULIA's arm it sweetly smiles,
And each lorn thought, each long regret beguiles,
Fondly she weeps the hand, which form'd the spell,
Now shroudless mould'ring in its earthy cell!

But sure the Youth, whose ill-starr'd passion strove
With all the pangs of inauspicious Love,
Full oft' deplor'd the fatal Art, that stole
The jocund freedom of its Master's soul!

While with nice hand he mark'd the living grace,
And matchless sweetness of HONORA's Face,

* *Early grave*,—Miss Honora S——, to whom Mr. Andre's attachment was of such singular constancy, died in a consumption a few months before he suffered death at Tappan. She had married another Gentleman four years after her engagement with Mr. Andre had been dissolved by parental authority.

† *Julia's arm*.—Mr. Andre drew two miniature pictures of Miss Honora S——— on his first acqnaintance with her at Buxton, in the year 1769, one for himself, the other for the author of this poem.

Th' enamour'd Youth the faithful traces blest,
That barb'd the dart of Beauty in his breast;
Around his neck th' enchanting Portrait hung,
While a warm vow burst ardent from his tongue,
That from his bosom no succeeding day,
No chance should bear that Talisman away.

'Twas thus * Apelles bask'd in Beauty's blaze,
And felt the mischief of the stedfast gaze;
Trac'd with disorder'd hand Campaspe's charms,
And as their beams the kindling Canvas warms,
Triumphant Love, with still superior art,
Engraves their wonders on the Painter's heart.

Dear lost Companion! ever constant Youth!
That Fate had smil'd propitious on thy Truth!
Nor bound th' ensanguin'd laurel on that brow
Where Love ordain'd his brightest wreath to glow!
Then Peace had led thee to her softest bow'rs,
And Hymen strew'd thy path with all his flow'rs;
Drawn to thy roof, by Friendship's silver cord,
Each social Joy had brighten'd at thy board;

* *'Twas thus Apelles.*—Prior is very elegant upon this circumstance in an Ode to his friend Mr. Howard, the painter.

Science, and soft Affection's blended rays
Had shone unclouded on thy lengthen'd days;
From hour to hour thy taste, with conscious pride,
Had mark'd new talents in thy lovely Bride;
Till thou hadst own'd the magic of her face
Thy fair HONORA's least engaging grace.
Dear lost HONORA! o'er thy early bier
Sorrowing the Muse still sheds her sacred tear!
The blushing Rose-bud in its vernal bed,
By Zephyrs fann'd, by glist'ring Dew-drops fed,
In June's gay morn that scents the ambient air,
Was not more sweet, more innocent, or fair.
Oh! when such pairs their kindred Spirit find,
When Sense and Virtue deck each spotless Mind,
Hard is the doom that shall the union break,
And Fate's dark billow rises o'er the wreck.

Now Prudence, in her cold and thrifty care,
Frown'd on the Maid, and bade the Youth despair;
For Pow'r Parental sternly saw, and strove
To tear the lily-bands of plighted Love;
Nor strove in vain;—but while the Fair-One's sighs
Disperse, like April-storms in sunny skies,
The firmer Lover, with unswerving truth,
To his first passion consecrates his Youth;

Tho' four long years a night of absence prove,
Yet Hope's soft Star shone trembling on his Love;
Till * hov'ring Rumour chas'd the pleasing dream
And veil'd with Raven-wing the silver beam.

" HONORA lost! my happy rival's Bride!
" Swell ye full Sails! and roll thou mighty Tide!
" O'er the dark Waves forsaken ANDRE bear
" Amid the volleying Thunders of the War!
" To win bright Glory from my Country's Foes,
" E'en in this ice of Love, my bosom glows.
" Voluptuous LONDON! in whose gorgeous bow'rs
" The frolic Pleasures lead the dancing Hours,
" From Orient-vales Sabean-odours bring,
" Nor ask her roses of the tardy Spring;
" Where Painting burns the Grecian Meed to claim,
" From the high Temple of immortal Fame,
" Bears to the radiant Goal, with ardent pace,
" Her Kauffman's Beauty, and her Reynold's grace;
" Where Music floats the glitt'ring roofs among,
" And with meand'ring cadence swells the song,
" While Sun-clad Poesy the Bard inspires,
" And foils the Grecian Harps, the Latian Lyres.—

* *Hov'ring Rumour.*—The tidings of Honora's Marriage. Upon that event Mr. Andre quitted his profession as a merchant, and joined our army in America.

" Ye soft'ning Luxuries! ye polish'd Arts!
" Bend your enfeebling rays on tranquil hearts!
" I quit the Song, the Pencil, and the Lyre,
" White robes of Peace, and Pleasure's soft attire,
" To seize the sword, to mount the rapid car,
" In all the proud habiliments of War.—
" HONORA lost! I woo a sterner Bride,
" The arm'd Bellona calls me to her side;
" Harsh is the music of our marriage strain!
" It breathes in thunder from the western plain!
" Wide o'er the wat'ry world its echoes roll,
" And rouse each latent ardor of my soul.
" And tho' unlike the soft melodious lay,
" That gaily wak'd HONORA's nuptial day,
" Its deeper tones shall whisper, e'er they cease,
" More genuine transport, and more lasting peace!

" Resolv'd I go!—nor from that fatal bourn
" To these gay scenes shall ANDRE's step return!
" Set is the star of Love, that ought to guide
" His refluent Bark across the mighty Tide!
" But while my Country's Foes, with impious hand,
" Hurl o'er the blasted plains the livid brand
" Of dire Sedition! Oh! let Heav'n ordain
" While ANDRE lives, he may not live in vain!

" Yet without one kind farewel, cou'd I roam
" Far from my weeping Friends, my peaceful home,
" The best affections of my heart must cease,
" And gratitude be lost, with hope, and peace!

" My lovely Sisters! who were wont to twine
" Your souls' soft feeling with each wish of mine,
" Shall, when this breast beats high at Glory's call,
" From your mild eyes the show'rs of sorrow fall?—
" The light of Excellence, that round you glows,
" Decks with reflected beam your Brother's brows!
" Oh! may his Fame, in some distinguish'd day,
" Pour on that Excellence the brightest ray!

" Dim clouds of Woe! ye veil each sprightly grace
" That us'd to sparkle in MARIA's face.
" My *tuneful ANNA to her lute complains,
" But Grief's fond throbs arrest the parting strains.
" Fair as the silver blossom on the thorn,
" Soft as the spirit of the vernal morn,
" LOUISA, chace those trembling fears, that prove
" Th' ungovern'd terrors of a Sister's love.
" They bend thy sweet head, like yon lucid flow'r,
" That shrinks and fades beneath the summer's show'r.

* *Tuneful Anna.*—Miss Anne Andre has a poetical talent.

" Oh! smile, my Sisters, on this destin'd day,
" And with the radiant omen gild my way!
" And thou, my Brother, gentle as the gale,
" Whose breath perfumes anew the blossom'd vale,
" Yet quick of spirit, as th' electric beam,
" When from the clouds its darting lightnings stream,
" Soothe with incessant care our Mother's woes,
" And hush her anxious sighs to soft repose.
" And be ye sure, when distant far I stray
" To share the dangers of the arduous day,
" Your tender faithful amity shall rest
" The *last dear record of my grateful breast.

" Oh! graceful Priestess at the fane of Truth,
" Friend of my soul! and guardian of my youth!
" Skill'd to convert the duty to the choice,
" My gentle Mother!---in whose melting voice
" The virtuous precept, that perpetual flow'd,
" With Music warbled, and with Beauty glow'd,
" Thy tears!---ah Heav'n! not drops of molten lead,
" Pour'd on thy hapless Son's devoted head,

* *Last dear record.*—" I have a Mother, and three Sisters, to " whom the value of my commission wou'd be an object, as the " loss of Grenada has much affected their income. It is need- " less to be more explicit on this subject, I know your Excel- " lency's goodness."——See Major Andre's last letter to General Clinton, published in the Gazette.

" With keener smart had each sensation torn !
" They wake the nerve where agonies are born !
" But oh ! restrain me not !---thy tender strife,
" What wou'd it save ?---alas ! thy ANDRE's life !
" Oh ! what a weary pilgrimage 'twill prove
" Strew'd with the thorns of disappointed love !
" Ne'er can he break the charm, whose fond controul,
" By habit rooted, lords it o'er his soul,
" If here he languish in inglorious ease,
" Where [illegible]nce palls, and Pleasures cease to please.
" 'Tis Glory only, with her potent ray,
" Can chace the clouds that darken all his way.
" Then dry those pearly drops that wildly flow,
" Nor snatch the laurel from my youthful brow !
" The Rebel-Standard blazes to the noon !
" Aud Glory's path is bright before thy Son !
" Then join thy voice ! and thou with Heav'n ordain
" While ANDRE lives, he may not live in vain ! "

He says !---and sighing seeks the busy strand,
Where anchor'd Navies wait the wish'd command.
To the full gale the nearer billows roar,
And proudly lash the circumscribing shore ;
While furious on the craggy coast they rave,
All calm and lovely rolls the distant wave ;

For onward, as th' unbounded waters spread,
Deep sink the rocks in their capacious bed,
And all their pointed terrors utmost force,
But gently interrupts the billows' course.

So on his present hour rude Passion preys!
So smooth the prospect of his future days!
Unconscious of the storm, that grimly sleeps,
To wreck its fury on th' unshelter'd deeps!

Now yielding waves divide before the prow,
The white sails bend, the streaming pennants glow;
And swiftly waft him to the western plain,
Where fierce Bellona rages o'er the slain.

Firm in their strength opposing legions stand,
Prepar'd to drench with blood the thirsty land.
Now Carnage hurls her flaming bolts afar,
And Desolation groans amid the war.
As bleed the valiant, and the mighty yield,
Death stalks, the only victor o'er the field.

Foremost in all the horrors of the day,
Impetuous * ANDRE leads the glorious way;

* *Impetuous Andre.*—It is in this passage only that fiction has been employed through the narrative of the poem. Mr. Andre

Till, rashly bold, by numbers forc'd to yield,
They drag him captive from the long-fought field.
Around the Hero croud th' exulting bands,
And seize the spoils of war with bloody hands;
Snatch the dark plumage from his awful crest,
And tear the golden crescent from his breast;
The sword, the tube, that wings the death from far,
And all the fatal implements of war!

Silent, unmov'd the gallant Youth survey'd
The lavish spoils triumphant ruffians made.
The idle ornament, the useless spear,
He little recks, but oh! there is a fear
Pants with quick throb, while yearning sorrows dart
Thro' his chill frame, and tremble at his heart.

" What tho' HONORA's voice no more shall charm!
" No more her beamy smile my bosom warm!
" Yet from these eyes shall force for ever tear
" The sacred Image of that form so dear?—
" Shade * of my Love! tho' mute and cold thy charms,
Ne'er hast thou blest my happy rival's arms!

was a prisoner in America, soon after his arrival there, but the author is unacquainted with the circumstances of the action in which he was taken.

* *Shade of my Love.*—The miniature of Honora. A letter

" To my sad heart each dawn has seen thee prest!
" ch night has laid thee pillow'd on my breast!
" orce shall not tear thee from thy faithful shrine;
" Shade of my Love! thou shalt be ever mine!

" 'Tis fix'd!---these lips shall resolute inclose
" The precious soother of my ceaseless woes.
" And shou'd relentless Violence invade
" This last retreat, by frantic fondness made,
" One way remains!---Fate whispers to my soul
" Intrepid * Portia and her burning coal!
" So shall the throbbing inmate of my breast
" From Love's sole gift meet everlasting rest!"

While these sad thoughts in swift succession fire
The smother'd embers of each fond desire,

from Major Andre to one of his friends, written a few years ago, contained the following sentence. " I have been taken prisoner " by the Americans, and stript of every thing except the picture " of Honora, which I concealed in my mouth. Preserving " that, I yet think myself fortunate."

* *Intrepid Portia.*]—" BRUTUS. Impatient of my absence,
" And grieved that young Octavius, with Mark Anthony
" Had made themselves so strong, she grew distracted.
" And, her Attendants absent, swallow'd fire.
" CASSIUS.] And dy'd so?
" BRUTUS.] Even so!

See Shakspeare's Play of Julius Cæsar, Act IV. *Sc.* IV.

Quick to his mouth his eager hand removes
The beauteous semblance of the form he loves.
That darling treasure safe, resign'd he wears
The sordid robe, the scanty viand shares;
With chearful fortitude content to wait
The barter'd ransom of a kinder fate.

Now many a Moon in her pale course had shed
The pensive beam on ANDRE's captive head.
At length the Sun rose jocund, to adorn
With all his splendor the enfranch'd morn.
Again the Hero joins the ardent train
That pours its thousands on the tented plain;
And shines distinguish'd in the long array,
Bright as the silver star that leads the day!
His modest temperance, his wakeful heed,
His silent diligence, his ardent speed,
Each warrior-duty to the veteran taught,
Shaming the vain experience time had brought.
Dependence scarcely feels his gentle sway,
He shares each want, and smiles each grief away?
And to the virtues of a noble heart,
Unites the talents of inventive art.
Thus from his swift and faithful pencil flow
The Lines, the Camp, the Fortress of the Foe:

Serene to counteract each deep design,
Points the dark ambush, and the springing mine;
Till, as a breathing incense, ANDRE's name
Pervades the host, and swells the loud acclaim.

The CHIEF no virtue views with cold regard,
Skill'd to discern, and generous to reward;
Each tow'ring hope his honor'd smiles impart,
As near his person, and more near his heart
The graceful Youth he draws,---and round his brow
Bids Rank and Pow'r their mingled brilliance throw.

Oh! hast thou seen a blooming morn of May
In crystal beauty shed the modest ray,
And with its balmy dew's refreshing show'r
Swell the young grain, and ope the purple flow'r,
In bright'ning lustre reach its radiant noon,
Rob'd in the gayest mantle of the Sun?
Then 'mid the splendors of its azure skies,
Oh! hast thou seen the cruel storm arise,
In sable horror shroud each dazzling charm,
And dash their glories back with icy arm?

Thus lowr'd the deathful cloud amid the blaze
Of ANDRE's rising hopes,---and quench'd their rays!

Ah fatal Embassy!---thy hazards dire
His kindling soul with ev'ry ardor fire;
Great CLINTON gives it to the courage prov'd,
And the known wisdom of the friend he lov'd.

As fair Euryalus, to meet his fate,
With Nysus rushes from the Dardan gate,
Relentless Fate! whose fury scorns to spare
The snowy breast, red lip, and shining hair,
So polish'd ANDRE launches on the waves,
Where *Hudson's tide its dreary confine laves.
With firm intrepid foot the youth explores
Each dangerous pathway of the hostile shores;
But on no Veteran-Chief his step attends,
As silent round the gloomy wood he wends;
Alone he meets the brave repentant foe,
Sustains his late resolve, receives his vow,
With ardent skill directs the doubtful course,
Seals the firm bond, and ratifies its force.

'Tis thus AMERICA, thy Generals fly,
And wave new banners in their native sky!

* *Hudson's tide* —Major Andre came up the Hudson river to meet General Arnold. On his return by land he fell into the hands of the enemy.

Sick of the mischiefs artful GALLIA pours,
In friendly semblance on thy ravag'd shores.
Unnatural compact !—shall a race of slaves
Sustain the ponderous standard Freedom waves ?
No ! while their feign'd protection spreads the toils,
The Vultures hover o'er the destin'd spoils !
How fade Provincial-glories, while ye run
To court far deeper bondage than ye shun !
Is this the generous active rising flame,
That boasted Liberty's immortal name,
Blaz'd for its rights infring'd, its trophies torn,
And taught the Wise the dire mistake to mourn,
When haughty BRITAIN, in a luckless hour,
With rage inebriate, and the lust of pow'r,
To fruitless conquest, and to countless graves
Led her gay Legions o'er the western waves ?
The Fiend of Discord, cow'ring at the prow,
Sat darkly smiling at th' impending woe !

Long did my soul the wretched strife survey,
And wept the horrors of the deathful day ;
Thro' rolling years saw undecisive War
Drag bleeding Wisdom at his iron car :
Exhaust my country's treasure, pour her gore
In fruitless conflict on the distant shore ;

Saw the firm CONGRESS all her might oppose,
And while I mourn'd her fate, rever'd her foes.

But when, repentant of her prouder aim,
She gently waves the long disputed claim;
Extends the Charter with your Rights restor'd,
And hides in olive-wreaths the blood-stain'd sword;
Then to reject her peaceful wreaths, and throw
Your Country's Freedom to our mutual Foe!---
Infatuate land?---from that detested day
Distracted councils, and the thirst of sway,
Rapacious Avarice, Superstition vile,
And all the *Frenchman* dictates in his guile
Disgrace your CONGRESS!---Justice drops her scale!
And radiant Liberty averts her sail!
They fly indignant the polluted plain,
Where Truth is scorn'd, and Mercy pleads in vain.

That she does plead in vain, thy witness bear,
Accursed hour?---thou darkest of the year!
That with Misfortune's deadliest venom fraught,
To Tappan's wall the gallant ANDRE brought.

Oh WASHINGTON! I thought thee great and good,
Nor knew thy Nero-thirst of guiltless blood!

Severe to use the pow'r that Fortune gave,
Thou cool determin'd Murderer of the Brave!
Lost to each fairer virtue, that inspires
The genuine fervor of the Patriot fires!
And You, the base Abettors of the doom,
That sunk his blooming honours in the tomb,
Th' opprobrious tomb your harden'd hearts decreed,
While all he ask'd was as the brave to bleed!
Nor other boon the glorious Youth implor'd,
Save the cold mercy of the warrior-sword!
O dark, and pitiless! your impious hate
O'er-whelm'd the Hero in the Ruffian's fate!
Stopt with the * Feloncord the rosy breath!
And venom'd with disgrace the darts of Death!

Remorseless WASHINGTON! the day shall come
Of deep repentance for this barb'rous doom!
When injur'd ANDRE'S memory shall inspire
A kindling army with resistless fire;

* *Felon-cord* —"As I suffer in the defence of my country, I must consider this hour as the most glorious of my life.—Remember that I die as becomes a British Officer, while the manner of my death must reflect disgrace on your Commander."

See Major Audre's last words, inserted in the General Evening Post, for Tuesday, November the 14th, 1780.

Each falchion sharpen that the Britons wield,
And lead their fiercest Lion to the field!
Then, when each hope of thine shall set in night,
When dubious dread, and unavailing flight
Impel your host, thy guilt-upbraided soul
Shall wish untouch'd the sacred life you stole!
And when thy heart appall'd, and vanquish'd pride
Shall vainly ask the mercy they deny'd,
With horror shalt thou meet the fate they gave,
Nor Pity gild the darkness of thy grave!
For Infamy, with livid hand shall shed
Eternal mildew on the ruthless head!

Less cruel far than thou, on Ilium's plain,
Achilles, raging for Patroclus slain!
When hapless Priam bends the aged knee,
To deprecate the victor's dire decree,
The nobler Greek, in melting pity spares
The lifeless Hector to his Father's pray'rs,
Fierce as he was;---'tis *Cowards* only know
Persisting vengeance o'er a *fallen* foe.

But no intreaty wakes the soft remorse,
Oh murdered ANDRE! for thy sacred corse;
Vain were an army's, vain its Leader's sighs!---
Damp in the earth on Hudson's shore it lies!

Unshrouded welters in the wint'ry storm,
And gluts the riot of the * Tappan worm!
But Oh! its dust, like Abel's blood, shall rise,
And call for justice from the angry skies!

What tho' the Tyrants, with malignant pride,
To thy pale corse each decent rite deny'd!
Thy graceful limbs in no kind covert laid,
Nor with the Christian-Requiem sooth'd thy shade!
Yet on thy grass-green bier soft April-show'rs
Shall earliest wake the sweet spontaneous flow'rs!
Bid the blue hare-bell, and the snow-drop there
Hang their cold cup, and drop the pearly tear!
And oft, at pensive Eve's ambiguous gloom,
Imperial Honour, bending o'er thy tomb,
With solemn strains shall lull thy deep repose,
And with his deathless laurels shade thy brows!

Lamented Youth! while with inverted spear
The British legions pour th' indignant tear!
Round the dropt arm the * funeral-scarf entwine,
And in their hearts' deep core thy worth enshrine;

* *Tappan.* —The place where Major Andre was executed.

Funeral-scarf.—Our whole army in America went into mourning for Major Andre, a distinguished tribute to his merit.

While my weak Muse, in fond attempt and vain,
But feebly pours a perishable strain,
Oh! ye distinguish'd few! whose glowing lays
Bright Phœbus kindles with his purest rays,
Snatch from its radiant source the living fire,
And light with * Vestal flame your ANDRE'S HAL-
LOWED PYRE!

* *Vestal flame.*—The Vestal fire was kept perpetually burning, and originally kindled from the rays of the sun.

LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO

THE AUTHOR OF THE FOREGOING POEM,

BY

MAJOR ANDRE,

WHEN HE WAS A YOUTH OF EIGHTEEN.

LETTER I.

Clapton, Oct. 3, 1769.

FROM their agreeable excursion to Shrewsbury, my dearest friends are by this time returned to their thrice beloved Lichfield; once again have they beheld those fortunate *spires*, the constant witnesses of all their pains and pleasures. I can well conceive the emotions of joy which their first appearance, from the neighbouring hills, excites after absence; they seem to welcome you home, and invite you to reiterate those hours of happiness, of which they are a species of monument. I shall have an eternal love and reverence for them. Never shall I forget the joy that danced in Honora's eyes, when she first shewed them to me from Needwood Forest on our return with you from Buxton to Lichfield. I remember she called them the *ladies of the valley*——their lightness and elegance deserve the title. Oh! how I loved them from that instant! My enthusiasm concerning

them is carried farther even than your's and Honora's, for every object that has a pyramidal form, recals them to my recollection, with a sensation, that brings the tear of pleasure into my eyes.

How happy must you have been at Shrewsbury! only that you tell me, alas! that dear Honora was not so well as you wished during your stay there.—I always hope the best. My impatient spirit rejects every obtruding idea, which I have not fortitude to support. Doctor Darwin's skill, and your tender care will remove that sad pain in her side, which makes writing troublesome and injurious to her; which robs her poor **Cher Jean* of those precious pages, with which, he flatters himself, she would otherwise have indulged him.

So your happiness at Shrewsbury scorned to be indebted to public amusements---Five Virgins---united in the soft bonds of friendship! How I should have liked to have made the sixth! But you surprize me by such an absolute exclusion of the Beaux; I certainly thought that when five wise virgins were watch-

* A name of kindness, by which Mr. Andre was often called by his mother and sisters, and generally adopted by the persons mentioned in these letters.

ing at midnight, it must have been in expectation of the bridegroom's coming. *We* are at this instant five virgins, writing round the same table---my three sisters, Mr. Ewer, and myself. I beg no reflections injurious to the honour of poor *Cher Jean*. My mother is gone to pay a visit, and has left us in possession of the old coach; but as for nags, we can boast of only two long-tails, and my sisters say they are sorry cattle, being no other than my friend Ewer and myself, who, to say truth, have enormous pig-tails.

My dear Boissier is come to town; he has brought a little of the soldier with him, but he is the same honest, warm, intelligent friend I always found him. He sacrifices the town diversions, since I will not partake of them.

We are jealous of your correspondents, who are so numerous. Yet, write to the Andres often, my dear Julia, for who are they that will value your letters quite so much as we value them?---The least scrap of a letter will be received with the greatest joy; write therefore, tho' it were only to give us the comfort of having a piece of paper which has recently passed thro' your hands; Honora will put in a little postcript, were it only to tell me that she is *my very sin-*

cere friend, who will neither give me love nor comfort—very short indeed, Honora, was thy last postcript!——But I am too presumptuous; I will not scratch out, but I *un*say; from the little there *was* I received more joy than I deserve.—This *Cher Jean* is an impertinent fellow, but he will grow discreet in time; you must consider him as a poor novice of *eighteen,* who, for all the sins he may commit, is sufficiently punished in the single evil of being 120 miles from Lichfield.

My mother and sisters will go to Putney in a few days to stay some time; we none of us like Clapton; *I* need not care, for I am all day long in town; but it is avoiding Scylla to fall into Charybdis. You paint to me the pleasant vale of Stow in the richest autumnal colouring: in return I must tell you, that my zephyrs are wafted through cracks in the wainscot; for murmuring streams I have dirty kennels; for bleating flocks, grunting pigs; and squalling cats for birds that incessantly warble; I have said something of this sort in my letter to Miss Spearman, and am twinged with the idea of these epistles being confronted, and that I shall recal to your memory the fat Knight's love letters to Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page.

Julia, perhaps thou fanciest I am merry—Alas!—But I do not wish to make you as doleful as myself; and besides, when I would express the tender feelings of my soul, I have no language which does them any justice; if I had, I should regret that you could not have it fresher, and that whatever one communicates by letter must go such a round-about way, before it, reaches one's correspondent; from the writer's heart thro' his head, arm, hand, pen, ink, paper, over many a weary hill and dale, to the eye, head, and heart of the reader. I have often regretted our not possessing a sort of faculty which should enable our sensations, remarks, &c. to arise from their source in a sort of exhalation, and fall upon our paper in words and phrases properly adapted to express them, without passing through an imagination whose operations so often fail to second those of the heart. Then what a metamorphose should we see in people's stile! How eloquent those who are truly attached! how stupid they who falsely profess affection! Perhaps the former had never been able to express half their regard; while the latter, by their flowers of rhetoric, had made us believe a thousand times more than they ever felt---but this is whimsical moralizing.

My sisters Penserosos were dispersed on their ar-

rival in town, by the joy of seeing Louisa and their dear little brother Billy again, our kind and excellent uncle Giradot, and uncle Lewis Andre. I was glad to see them, but they complained, not without reason, of the gloom upon my countenance---Billy wept for joy that we were returned, while poor *Cher Jean* was ready to weep for sorrow. Louisa is grown still handsomer since we left her. Our sisters, Mary and Anne, knowing your partiality to beauty, are afraid that when they shall introduce her to you, she will put their noses out of joint. Billy is not old enough for me to be afraid of in the rival-way, else I should keep him aloof, for his heart is formed of those affectionate materials, so dear to the ingenuous taste of Julia and her Honora.

I sympathize in your resentment against the canonical Dons, who stumpify the heads of those good green * people, beneath whose friendly shade so many of your happiest hours have glided away: but they defy them: let them stumpify as much as they please, time will repair the mischief---their verdant arms will again extend, and invite you to their shelter.

The evenings grow long; I hope your conversation

* The trees in the Cathedral walk in Lichfield.

round the fire will sometimes fall on the Andres; it will be a great comfort that they are remembered. We chink our glasses to your healths at every meal; here's to our Lichfieldian friends, says Nanny;---Oh---h, says Mary;---with all my soul, say I;---Allons, cries my mother;---and the draught seems nectar. The libation made, we begin our uncloying theme, and so beguile the gloomy evening.

Mr. and Mrs. Seward will accept my most affectionate respects. My male friend at Lichfield will join in your conversation on the Andres. Among the numerous good qualities he is possessed of, he certainly has gratitude, and then he cannot forget those who so sincerely love and esteem him; I, in particular, shall always recall with pleasure the happy hours I have passed in his company; my friendship for him, and for your family, has diffused itself, like the precious ointment from Aaron's beard, on every thing which surrounds you, therefore I beg you would give my amitiès to the whole town. Persuade Honora to forgive the length and ardor of the inclosed, and believe me truly

your affectionate and faithful friend,

J. ANDRE.

LETTER II.

London, October 19, 1769.

FROM the midst of books, papers, bills, and other implements of gain, let me lift up my drowsy head a while to converse with dear Julia. And first, as I know she has a fervent wish to see me a quill-driver, I must tell her, that I begin, as people are wont to do, to look upon my future profession with great partiality. I no longer see it in so disadvantageous a light. Instead of figuring a merchant as a middle-aged man, with a bob wig, a rough beard, in snuff coloured clothes, grasping a guinea in his red hand; I conceive a comely young man, with a tolerable pig-tail, wielding a pen with all the noble fierceness of the Duke of Marlborough brandishing a truncheon upon a sign-post, surrounded with types and emblems, and canopied with cornucopiæ that disembogue their stores upon his head; Mercuries reclin'd upon bales of goods; Genii playing with pens, ink, and paper;

while in perspective, his gorgeous vessels "launched on the bosom of the silver Thames," are wafting to distant lands the produce of this commercial nation. Thus all the mercantile glories croud on my fancy, emblazoned in the most refulgent colouring of an ardent imagination; borne on her soaring pinions I wing my flight to the time when Heaven shall have crowned my labours with success and opulence. I see sumptuous palaces rising to receive me; I see orphans, and widows, and painters, and fidlers, and poets, and builders, protected and encouraged; and when the fabrick is pretty nearly finished by my shattered Pericranium, I cast my eyes around, and find John Andre, by a small coal fire, in a gloomy compting-house in Warnford Court, [illegible]thing so little as what he has been making himself, and in all probability never to be much more than he is at present. But oh! my dear Honora!---it is for thy sake only I wish for wealth. You say she was somewhat better at the time you wrote last. I must flatter myself that she will soon be without any remains of this threatening disease.

It is seven o'clock---You and Honora, with two or three more select friends, are now probably encircling

your dressing-room fire-place. What would I not give to enlarge that circle! The idea of a clean hearth, and a snug circle round it, formed by a few sincere friends, transports me. You seem combined together against the inclemency of the weather, the hurry, bustle, ceremony, censoriousness, and envy of the world. The purity, the warmth, the kindly influence of fire, to all for whom it is kindled, is a good emblem of the friendship of such amiable minds as Julia's and her Honora's. Since I cannot be there in reality, pray imagine me with you; admit me to your conversationès; think how I wish for the blessing of joining them! and be persuaded that I take part in all your pleasures, in the dear hope, that e'er it be very long, your blazing hearth will burn again for me. Pray keep me a place; let the poker, tongs, or shovel, represent me: but you have Dutch-tiles, which are infinitely better; so let Moses, or Aaron, or Balaam's ass be my representative.

But time calls me to Clapton. I quit you abruptly till to-morrow: when, if I do not tear the nonsense I have been writing, I may perhaps increase its quantity. Signora Cynthia is in clouded majesty. Silvered with her beams I am about to jog to Clapton

upon my own stumps; musing as I homeward plod my way---Ah! need I name the subject of my contemplations?

Thursday.

I had a sweet walk home last night, and found the Claptonians, with their fair guest, a Miss Mourgue, very well. My sisters send their amitiès, and will write in a few days.

This morning I returned to town; it has been the finest day imaginable; a solemn mildness was diffused throughout the blue horizon; its light was clear and distinct rather than dazzling; the serene beams of the autumnal sun!---Gilded hills, variegated woods, glittering spires, ruminating herds, bounding flocks, all combined to inchant the eyes, expand the heart, and "chace all sorrow but despair."---In the midst of such a scene, no lesser grief can prevent our sympathy with nature; a calmness, a benevolent disposition seizes us with sweet insinuating power. The very brute creation seem sensible of these beauties; there is a species of mild cheerfulness in the face of a lamb, which I have but indifferently expressed in a corner of my paper, and a demure contented look in an ox,

which, in the fear of expressing still worse, I leave unattempted.

Business calls me away; I must dispatch my letter; yet what does it contain ?---No matter; you like any thing better than news. Indeed you never told me so, but I have an intuitive knowledge upon the subject, from the sympathy which I have constantly perceived in the taste of Julia and Cher Jean. What is it to you or me

> If here in the city we have nothing but riot,
> If the Spital-field Weavers can't be kept quiet,
> If the weather is fine, or the streets should be dirty,
> Or if Mr. Dick Wilson died aged of thirty?

—But if I was to hearken to the versifying grumbling I feel within me I should fill my paper, and not have room left to intreat that you would plead my cause to Honora more eloquently than the inclosed letter has the power of doing. Apropos of verses, you desire me to recollect my random description of the engaging appearance of the charming Mrs.——. Here it is at your service:

> Then rustling and bustling the Lady comes down,
> With a flaming red face, and a broad yellow gown,
> And a hobbling out-of-breath gait, and a frown.

This little French cousin of ours, Delarise, was my

sister Mary's play-fellow at Paris. His sprightliness engages my sisters extremely. Doubtless they talk much of him to you in their letters.

How sorry I am to bid you adieu! Oh let me not be forgot by the friends most dear to you at Lichfield! *Lichfield!* Ah! of what magic letters is that little word composed! How graceful it looks when it is written! Let nobody talk to me of its original meaning—" *The field of blood!" Oh! no such thing! It is the field of joy! "The beautiful city, that lifts her fair head in the valley and says, I *am*, and there is none beside me!" Who says she is vain? Julia will not say so, nor yet Honora, and least of all their devoted

J. ANDRE.

* *Field of blood.*—Here is a small mistake—Lichfield is not the field of blood, but "the field of dead bodies," alluding to a battle fought between the Romans and the British Christians in the Dioclesian persecution, when the latter were massacred. Three slain kings, with their burying-place, now Barrowcop-hill, and the Cathedral in miniature, form the city-arms. *Lich* is still a word in use. The church-yard gates, through which funerals pass, are often called Lich-gates, vulgarly Light-gates.

LETTER III.

Clapton, November 1, 1769.

My ears still ring with the sounds of Oh Jack! Oh Jack! How do the dear Lichfieldians?---What do they say?---What are they about?---What did *you* do while you were with them?---Have patience, said I, good people! and began my story, which they devoured with as much joyful avidity as Adam did Gabriel's tidings of Heaven. My mother and sisters are all very well, and delighted with their little Frenchman, who is a very agreeable lad.

Surely you applaud the fortitude with which I left you! Did I not come off with flying colours? It was a great effort, for, alas! this recreant heart did *not second* the smiling courage of the *countenance;* nor is it yet as it ought to be, from the hopes it may reasonably entertain of seeing you all again e'er the winter's dreary hours are past. Julia, my dear Julia, gild

them with tidings of our beloved Honora! Oh that you may be enabled to tell me that she regains her health, and her charming vivacity! Your sympathizing heart partakes all the joys and pains of your friends. Never can I forget its kind offices, which were of such moment to my peace! *Mine* is formed for friendship, and I am blest in being able to place so *well* the purest passion of an ingenuous mind! How am I honoured in Mr. and Mrs. Seward's attachment to me! Charming were the anticipations which beguiled the long tracts of hill, and dale, and plain, that divide London from Lichfield! With what delight my eager eyes *drank* their first view of the dear spires! What rapture did I not feel on entering your gates! in flying up the hall steps! in rushing into the dining-room! in meeting the gladden'd eyes of dear Julia and her enchanting friend! That instant convinced me of the truth of Rousseau's observation, "that there are *moments* worth ages." Shall not those moments return? Ah Julia! the cold hand of absence is heavy upon the heart of your poor *Cher Jean!* He is forced to hammer into it perpetually every consoling argument that the magic wand of Hope can conjure up; viz. that every moment of industrious absence advances his journey, you know whither. I may sometimes make excursions to Lichfield, and

bask in the light of my Honora's eyes! Sustain me Hope! nothing on my part shall be wanting which may induce thee to *fulfil* thy blossoming promises.

The happy social circle, Julia, Honora, Miss S——n, Miss B——n, her brother, Mr. S——e, Mr. R——n, &c. &c. are now, perhaps, enlivening your dressing-room, the dear *blue region*, as Honora calls it, with the sensible observation, the tasteful criticism, or the elegant song; dreading the iron-tongue of the nine o'clock bell, which disperses the beings, whom friendship and kindred virtues had drawn together. My imagination attaches itself to *all*, even the *inanimate* objects which surround Honora and her Julia; that have beheld their graces and virtues expand and ripen; my dear Honora's, from their infant bud.

The sleepy Claptonian train are gone to bed, somewhat wearied with their excursion to Enfield, whither they have this day carried their favourite little Frenchman; so *great* a favourite, the parting was quite tragical. I walked hither from town, as usual, to night; no hour of the twenty-four is so precious to me as that devoted to this solitary walk. Oh, my friend! I am far from possessing the patient frame of mind which I

so continually invoke! Why is Lichfield an hundred and twenty miles from me? There is no *moderation* in the distance! Fifty or sixty miles had been a great deal too much, but *then*, there would have been less opposition from *authority* to my frequent visits; I conjure you, supply the want of these blessings by frequent *letters;* I must not, will not ask them of Honora, since the use of the pen is forbid to her declining health; I will content myself, as usual, with a postscript from her in your epistles. My sisters are charmed with the packet which arrived yesterday, and which they will answer soon.

As yet I have said nothing of our journey. We met an entertaining Irish Gentleman at Dunchurch, and, being fellow-sufferers in cold and hunger, joined interests, ordered four horses, and stuffed three in a chaise. It is not to *you*, I need apologize for talking in raptures of an Higler, whom we met on our road. His cart had passed us, and was at a considerable distance, when, looking back, he perceived that our chaise had stopped, and that the driver seemed mending something. He ran up to him, and with a face full of honest anxiety, pity, good-nature, and every sweet affection under Heaven, asked him if he wanted any thing? that he had plenty of nails, ropes, &c.

in his cart. That wretch of a postillion made no other reply than, "We want nothing Master." From the same impulse the good Irishman, Mr. Till, and myself, thrust our heads instantly out of the chaise, and tried to recompense to the honest creature this surly reply, by every kind and grateful acknowledgment, and by forcing upon him a little pecuniary tribute. My benevolence will be the warmer, while I live, for the treasured remembrance of this Higler's countenance.

I know you interest yourself in my destiny: I have now completely subdued my aversion to the profession of a merchant, and hope in time to acquire an inclination for it. Yet, God forbid I should ever love what I am to make the object of my attention! that vile trash, which I care not for, but only as it may be the future means of procuring the blessing of my soul. Thus all my mercantile calculations go to the tune of *dear Honora.* When an impertinent consciousness whispers in my ear, that I am not of the right stuff for a merchant, I draw my Honora's picture from my bosom, and the sight of that dear Talisman so inspirits my industry, that no toil appears oppressive.

The poetic task you set me is in a sad method; my head and heart are too full of other matters to be engrossed by a draggle-tail'd wench of the Heliconian puddle.

I am going to try my interest in parliament; how you stare! it is to procure a frank. Be so good to give the inclosed to Honora; *it* will speak to *her;* and do *you* say every thing that is kind for me to every *other* distinguished friend of the dressing-room circle; encourage them in their obliging desire of scribbling in your letters, but don't let them take Honora's corner of the sheet.

Adieu!---May you all possess that cheerfulness denied to your *Cher Jean.* I fear it hurts my mother to see my musing moods; but I can neither help nor overcome them. The near hopes of another excursion to Lichfield, could alone disperse every gloomy vapour of my imagination.

Again, and yet again adieu!

J. ANDRE.

FINIS.

Printed by W. Clowes, Northumberland Court, Strand.

TO THE BINDER.

Portrait of Andre to face the title-page,

Map of North America to face page 1 of the Narrative.

Monument of Major Andre to face page 176.

ERRATA.

Page 2, line 8, *for* Knightsbridge *read* Kingsbridge—p. 18, l. 4, *for* Butwater *read* Outwater—p. 33, l. 1, *for* Callows Point *read* Tallor's Point—p. 39, l. 8, *for* Bull *read* Ball—p. 42, l. 18, *for* Bull's *read* Ball's—p. 61, l. 8, *for* Colonel *read* Governor—p. 90, l. 10, *for* as *read* when—p. 133, l. 1, *for* Hamilton *read* Washington—p. 205, l. 7, *for* contradiction *read* confirmation—p. 213, l. 3, *for* Bull *read* Duer—p. 214, l. 17, *for* recruiting *read* remaining—p. 235, l 4, *for* acclamation *read* declaration—p. 252, l. 14, *for* affect *read* effect—p. 257, l. 4, *for* Bergon *read* Bergen—p. 281, l. 8, *for* Tatowa *read* Totowa—p. 281, l. 12, *for* Ponter's *read* Paul's.